

UNIVERSITY OF WINCHESTER

The Journey of Memory: Forgetting and Remembering England's Medieval Jews

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Doctor of Philosophy

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University of Winchester.

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‘Alice laughed. "There's no use trying," she said: "one can't believe impossible things." While the White Queen's advice may sound mad at first, believing "six impossible things before breakfast" has become a common phrase to describe exercising one's imagination’ (Carroll 1996: 184).

The above quote has such relevance to the making of this thesis, because at times it has certainly felt impossible. Through unexpected challenges, this study has taken me on a journey and there are many people to thank for guiding me along the way. Firstly, I owe my deepest gratitude to my Director of Studies, Doctor Christina Welch. Without her moral support, encouragement, and strong feedback this thesis would not have been possible. Thank you also to my other supervisors Doctor Katherine Weikert and Robert Houghton for their guidance and support. In addition, I extend my gratitude to Professor Patricia Skinner for her supervision early on in this study and for always being available for encouragement and feedback since.

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis critically examines the public representation of medieval Anglo-Jewish history today through a cross-section of medieval Anglo-Jewish communities which act as case studies; Winchester, York, Norwich, Bristol, and Northampton respectively. These case studies frame the investigation of issues associated with the limited and often contested archaeological evidence relating to England's medieval Jews, as well as the frequent tendency of contemporary public facing history to focus on the negative aspects of medieval Jewish life, notably by highlighting persecution and victimisation. It also analyses the development of the most recent public facing interpretations of medieval Anglo-Jewish history in each location, which have been deliberately chosen to provide a range of towns and cities which contain evidence of alleged medieval Jewish human remains.

The assessment of key stakeholders in the public representation of medieval Anglo-Jews was central to this study, and as such this thesis carefully considered the roles of various stakeholders in the preservation and representation of medieval Anglo-Jewish history and memory. Within this thesis, each stakeholder had a valid voice in the assessment of how the history and memory of England's medieval Jews had been treated and represented. Decolonialist research methodologies were herein utilised in order to fully address the complexities of the various voices of stakeholders; from the perspectives of individuals, communities, and organisations, through a sensitive approach towards respectful interviewing and data collection. This thesis, therefore, provides a uniquely rounded interpretation of stakeholder involvement and investment in how medieval Anglo-Jewish communities are remembered today.

The history and memory of medieval Anglo-Jews has been subject to periods of omission and marginalisation, with the study of medieval Jewish history often hindered by a lack of sources on everyday life. This thesis contributes to the increasingly multi- and inter-disciplinary study of England's

medieval Jews through the application of Death Studies, offers new hypotheses based on traditional Jewish approaches to death ritual and burial practice, and provides fresh insights into aspects of medieval Jewish life with a focus on the dead.

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ABBREVIATIONS

BL	British Library
BT	Babylonian Talmud
CLR [and vol.]	<i>Calendar of the Liberate Rolls, III: Henry III, 1245-51</i> (1937)
CPREJ [and vol.]	<i>Calendar of the Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews, I: 1218-1272</i> . Edited by J. M. Rigg (1905), London: Jewish Historical Society of England; <i>III: Edward I, 1275-1277</i> . Edited by H. Jenkinson (1929), London: Jewish Historical Society of England; <i>IV: Henry III, 1272 and Edward I, 1275-1277</i> . Edited by H. G. Richardson (1972), London: Jewish Historical Society of England.
PpR [and regnal year and King]	Pipe Rolls: <i>The Great Role of the Pipe for the 13th Year of the Reign of King John</i> . Edited by D. M. Stenton (1953), London.
TNA	The National Archives

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

The history of England's medieval Jews spans a relatively short time period, from 1066-1290, however, its significance is undisputed both in its own right, and as part of a broader, local, and national history. The medieval Anglo-Jewish community was extensively documented by the state, with England the only country to have set up a separate governmental department specifically designed to control Jewish affairs. Called the Exchequer of the Jews, their intensive record keeping from the late 1190s until the expulsion of England's Jews in 1290 resulted in substantial documentation of the community and its financial and legal dealings. This resource, and especially the Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews, has provided scholars of medieval Jewish history with significant resources to conduct their studies (Hillaby and Hillaby 2013:130-135). However, researching such sources has not been without its challenges, and these will be explored in Chapter Two.

In contrast to the large quantity of state-collected legal and financial documentary evidence of England's medieval Jews, there is a relative lack of built heritage and everyday artefactual evidence of communities, and this has challenged how medieval Jewish history has been dealt with in the context of public memory. As a result, the typical experience of remembering medieval Anglo-Jewish history has historically been defined by marginalisation and overshadowing by other local narratives that have more physical and/or physically-engaging evidence. A case in point is Northampton, where the city's heritage trail focuses on historic buildings.¹ Further, the archaeological discoveries that have been made in the context of medieval Jewish history are frequently contested in terms of a secure Jewish identity, and this complicates matters of ownership, responsibility towards preservation of the item/s, and public recognition of the material; a case in point is Jacob's Well in Bristol, a medieval structure believed to be a *mayan*, a type of spring-fed ritual bath, or *mikveh* which is privately owned and also a Scheduled Ancient Monument.

Due to the lack of information on everyday medieval Anglo-Jewish life, Chapter Three investigates new hypotheses on the under-researched topic of medieval Jewish death. Through an exploration of traditional Jewish approaches to death ritual, the chapter considers the complexities of the use by medieval Jews of metal coffin fittings, Jews having to travel with decaying corpses to the nearest Jewish cemetery, and the practicalities of following Jewish law under the restrictions of medieval

¹ For Northampton's official Heritage Trail see:
<http://www.northampton.gov.uk/downloads/file/3420/northampton-heritage-trail>.

English law. In addition, this chapter will highlight that medieval Anglo-Jews could not have been not Torah true, for example, many communities would not have been able to bury their dead within twenty-four hours, especially prior to 1177 when the only Anglo-Jewish cemetery was located in London despite there being Jews as far afield as Winchester and York. Further, a simple wooden coffin as expected in a traditional Jewish funeral, would not have been sufficient to contain a decomposing corpse during the process of travelling from one community to the nearest cemetery, without additional binding or processes such as evisceration in place. Crucially, this is the first time that these aspects of medieval Jewish death have been considered in depth and thus this thesis provides a considerable contribution to the study of medieval Jewish history in England.

The fact that England's medieval Jews could not have been Torah true is significant to the rest of this enquiry in two ways. Firstly, it contributes to the increasingly inter- and multidisciplinary field of Jewish Studies, as will be demonstrated in Chapters One and Two. Secondly, the fact that medieval Jews could not have been Torah true is significant to the issue of ownership over medieval Jewish history, its artefacts, and human remains from the period. Chapters Four-through Seven will then illustrate how the Haredi or Ultra-Orthodox Jews,² believe they have more authority over this matter than other Jewish communities; they believe they are the only authentic Jews and therefore have a stronger connection with and right over medieval Jewish history. However, a focus on medieval Jewish death will show that in reality, the medieval Jewish community would have had more in common with Reform Jews due to an element of flexibility in Biblical requirements demonstrated by both communities. This complicates the authority of the Jewish voice in regard to the history of the medieval Anglo-Judaism highlighting that each community has a legitimate claim of ownership in their own right. The voices of contemporary Jewish communities in the context of ownership and authority over Medieval Anglo-Jewish history demonstrates that this topic remains a live issue.

A further issue related to contemporary Judaism in England and medieval Anglo-Jewish history is that there is a potent connection between these communities through the belief of a continuous Jewish identity across time and space. This concept will be explored through an assessment of the wider contemporary Jewish participation in the treatment and representation of local medieval Anglo-Jewish history today. It is important to note that this aspect of history is pertinent in a wider context as highlighted by Historian and Literary scholar Miriamne Krummel in her recent edited volume, *Jews*

² This thesis will use the term Haredi over alternatives such as Ultra-Orthodox based on the notion that '[t]he term "haredi" has gained recent acceptance among scholars because of its relative neutrality. Designations as "ultra-Orthodox" or the "Right" are value-laden. They assume that the speaker knows what "Orthodoxy," pure and simple, is or where the "centre" of Orthodoxy is located' (Soloveitchik 1994:103).

in Medieval England: Teaching Representations of the Other (Krummel and Pugh 2018). Krummel notes that the 'troubling, elliptical story of the early English Jews extends to local concerns in our classrooms about minorities, race, and ghettoisation' (2018: 7). In addition, the medieval Jews of England featured in a recent BBC news article, which includes the history of 1066-1290 within the context of the 'fraught' issue of immigration in the British Isles and the Windrush scandal (Watson 2018: [online]). As such this thesis contributes broadly to debates over the ownership and use of English history.

To explore the approaches within specific English towns and cities towards the public representation and treatment of medieval Jewish history and memory, this thesis focuses on aspects of cultural heritage as defined by Rodney Harrison: 'objects, places and practices that have some significance in the present which relates to the past' (2010: 12-13). Harrison's definition includes, but is not limited to:

cultural heritage sites (including archaeological sites, ruins, historic buildings) ... museums... moveable cultural heritage [consisting of] any form of object that is moveable and that is outside of an archaeological context... documentary and digital heritage [and] rites and beliefs (rituals, traditions and religious beliefs) (2010: 12-13).

This thesis considers five case studies, which are (alphabetically): Bristol, Northampton, Norwich, Winchester, and York. Chapters Four-Six will focus on one location each namely Winchester, York and Norwich, considering the recurrent issues of accessibility, ownership, and responsibility (as discussed below), whilst Chapter Seven, will contrast and compare Bristol and Northampton in order to explore the overarching issue of the impact of one individual as a driving factor of preserving and furthering the study of medieval Jewish history. These particular case studies are significant to medieval Anglo-Jewish history, as each town/city had an *archa*, which was an 'official chest, provided with three locks and seals, in which a counterpart of all deeds and contracts involving Jews was to be deposited in order to preserve the records' (Jewish Genealogical Society 2017). Unified in their status as *archae* towns, each location was important in its role as a centre of Jewish business operations and registration of Jewish financial transactions. However, the selected case studies also represent a cross-section of medieval Jewish settlement type in terms of age and size; for example, Winchester was one of the earliest communities to be established, and Bristol was one of the last, whilst Northampton was one of the smallest, and York was amongst the largest. Further, there have been notable archaeological finds believed to relate to the medieval Jewish community in each of the case studies, ranging from human remains to a synagogue token, and a ritual lamp.

The above case studies provide a platform, from which to explore how and why English locations remember their medieval Anglo-Jewish history. However, this thesis is more than a simple exploration of location, as it examines the processes by which public remembering in these locations has come about. The most recent developments related to the remembering of medieval Anglo-Jewish communities in these sites will be assessed, bringing existing research up to date, and identifying how current efforts to relocate the focus of memory are shifting. In recent years there has been an identifiable trend in attempts to move away from public interpretations embedded in what has been termed Dark Tourism, with an emphasis on highlighting the negative and bloody side of Anglo-Jewish medieval life. New approaches have seen the integration of more positive histories that draw on the everyday lived experience of medieval Anglo-Jewish existence. Although with this new focus also comes the risk of celebratory history, thus the success of old as well as new approaches will also be assessed. By exploring the different case studies and their approaches towards memory, this thesis also brings into focus the importance of forgetting, a process which Harrison describes as 'integral to remembering [because] one cannot properly form new memories and attach value to them without also selecting some things to forget' (2013: 580). Through the analysis of places that once forgot but now remember on a varying scale, and how and why they do this, this thesis aims to create a basis for modelling a set of approaches to recovering marginalised heritage that could be applied to the English towns and cities that continue to forget their medieval Jewish history.

The issues of ownership and responsibility are crucial to this thesis and are investigated in two key contexts. Firstly, how medieval Anglo-Jewish history has been acknowledged and/or marginalised in each identified case study. Included here is an assessment of how specific locations have transitioned from forgetting, or marginalising, their medieval Jewish communities, to how they remember them. This aspect brings into focus the multiple perspectives of key stakeholders, or the keepers of memory, and how they deal with the memory of medieval Jews. The central role of stakeholders is crucial to this thesis as it acknowledges that 'neither memory nor intention is ever monolithic: each depends on a vast array of forces' (Young 1994: x). The importance of stakeholders can also be seen in Scholar Laurajane Smith's definition of heritage as a 'multi-layered performance... of visiting, managing, interpretation of conservation that embodies acts of remembrance and commemoration while negotiating and constructing a sense of place, belonging and understanding in the present' (2006: 3). Further, Architectural Historian Tim Benton notes that 'the driving force in motivating heritage conservation comes from what people think, feel and do (intangible heritage) rather than from the tangible remains of the past' (2010: 1). In this thesis, the relevant stakeholders who fulfil the roles within the construction of heritage, include the heritage sector, tourist services, museums, and

contemporary Anglo-Jewish communities. Each of these groups has a vested interest in how medieval Anglo-Jewish history is presented; these interests and the justifications behind them are explored for each stakeholder as they relate to each case study. Inherent to this, it is vital to acknowledge that there are different traditions within Judaism. The main Jewish traditions in England are Haredi, Mainstream Orthodox, Reform, Conservative (Masorti), and Liberal. The major distinction between these groups are not necessarily a matter of theology, rather a matter of interpretation of biblical scriptures and requirements in terms of what is mandatory and the degree of how literally they are applied. The approaches that each of these traditions have towards death and death rituals, in particular, can differ considerably, and these differences are evident in how they have been involved with the discovery of medieval human remains that are believed to be Jewish.

The second issue to be explored in the context of ownership and responsibility relates to the treatment and representation of discovered medieval human remains suspected to be Jewish. This aspect considers in depth the role of modern Jewish communities and heritage professionals in the often highly charged debates regarding the excavation and re-internment of medieval Anglo-Jewish (or suspected Anglo-Jewish) human remains. With ethical and religious considerations foregrounding these human remains debates, Jewish theology, and Jewish, Christian, and English civic traditions of death and burial/re-burial will inform the thesis. A further facet to the human remains debate relates to the public remembering of medieval Anglo-Jewish individuals and communities in the towns and cities chosen as case studies. In each of the case studies, approaches to this aspect of remembering are location specific. How the different stakeholders in each location are involved with developments around the remembering of its medieval Anglo-Jewry highlights the tensions between the concerns of the different stakeholders and the compromises that need to be made as a result of these concerns.

METHODOLOGY

This thesis is, in essence, an exploration of the modern treatment of medieval Anglo-Jewish memory, particularly focussing on artefacts, cemeteries, and the Jewish dead. Because of the highly interdisciplinary nature of the thesis, and the centrality of Judaism, and issues around death and burial/re-burial to the investigations, Religious Studies has been the primary methodological medium. Religious Studies, as an academic discipline, allows for the integration and application of a variety of methodological approaches, including Anthropology, History, Philosophy, Theology, and Death Studies (Green 1997; Smith 1998; Taylor 1998; Garces-Foley 2015).

However, this thesis is also multi-disciplinary and thus additionally draws from the fields of Memory Studies (Yerushalmi 1982; Braunstein 1997; Kansteiner 2002; Assmann 2008), as well as Heritage Studies (Samuel 1994; Smith 2006; Benton 2010; Harrison 2010; Sayer 2015; De Groot 2016). The field of Archaeology is also important and informs the thesis through legislation, site investigation, and also work on recommended best practice with regards to the storage, and transportation/movement of excavated human remains (Burial Act 1857; Disused Burial Grounds Act 1884; Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979; Roberts, C. 2009; OSSA 2012; BABAO 2016). The bringing together of these methodologies will produce new lines of enquiry within the field of Medieval Jewish History, most notably in regards to the production of new hypotheses concerning medieval Jewish death ritual and practice (see Chapter Three). Additionally, it will also provide a platform from which to focus on the lived approach of the Jewish religion in a medieval context, as well as considering the role of the different contemporary Jewish communities and their engagement with, and involvement in the remembering of their medieval forebears (see Chapters Three to Seven).

Religious Studies scholar Graham Harvey, in *Food, Sex, and Strangers: understanding religion as everyday life* (2013), notes the importance of studying religions as they are actually lived; as part and parcel of everyday life. Harvey argues that a focus on 'lifeways' (ways of life) and 'the relationships that constitute, form, and enliven people in everyday activities in this material world' (2013: 2) demonstrates that there is more to religion than a belief in a deity. This assertion allows for the consideration of Judaism as a religious lifeway that is adaptable in every era (an assertion also borne out by Jewish history), whilst not altering the fundamental Jewish identity of an individual or community.

Central to this thesis is a focus on presenting the multiple views of the key stakeholders of medieval Anglo-Jewish memory, including the various contemporary Jewish traditions, and much of this is constructed through interviews and email correspondence; these appear appropriately redacted in the Appendices of this thesis. Data was gathered using a decolonialist methodology, which comes from the study of Indigenous Religious Lifeways, for as Linda Tuhiwai Smith notes, Indigenous researchers 'tend to approach cultural protocols, values and behaviours as an integral part of methodology' (2012: 15). It is notable that this methodology is not directly applied, rather drawn upon, as a way to respectfully approach sensitive issues which concern death, victimisation, and persecution; topics which are also central to this thesis. Thus, whilst medieval Anglo-Jewish history is not directly associated with colonialism, it should be highlighted that Jews in England lived under the rules and regulations of the English Crown at this time; they had to pay taxes in order to practise their

religion, and certain other activities were regulated, thus there are important resonances with colonial experiences. Further, there are identifiable tensions within the case study of Norwich for example, where echoes of colonialism can be identified through the authority asserted by academics over claims of ownership made by local Jewish communities (see Chapter Six).

This thesis utilises an interrogative approach towards assessing the state of medieval Jewish memory and history in England, but crucially also initiates new dialogues through the contributions of varied stakeholders, creating a forum where every voice is valid and incorporated within each case study. In turn, the connection between contemporary and medieval Jews can contribute to a better understanding of events concerning the discovery of allegedly-Jewish human remains, as well as informing new hypotheses regarding medieval Jewish death. The use of a decolonialist methodology also emphasises respectful links between indigenous peoples across time and space, which resonates with the links that Jewish people today feel with who have gone before them. This can be seen through prayers such as the *Kaddish* which states a continuation through the concept of Israel as a people (see Chapter Three and Five) and the expressed links by contemporary Jews with their medieval counterparts that is a recurrent theme throughout this thesis, notably in relation to the treatment of the medieval Jewish Dead (see Chapter Three).

This respectful approach to data gathering allows for a focus on engaging in research with people, rather than on or against them. This ensures that a broad approach to the assessment of medieval Jewish memory is applied, providing a platform where the views of each stakeholder can be considered. This method will be specifically applied using Harvey's 'Guesthood as Ethical Decolonising Research Method' (2003), which acknowledges:

that since researchers seek to understand what their hosts know, or do, or perceive themselves to be, or some similar matter that is the property of the hosts, it is imperative that researchers engage respectfully in dialogical conversation with their hosts (2003: 139).

Respectful interviewing is, therefore, a key concept for this thesis, particularly due to the often-sensitive nature of the discovery, and subsequent treatment, of the medieval human remains (bones, skulls, and full skeletons) that are thought to be Jewish. Further, this methodology allows for consideration of the forces that shape the approaches of the heritage and museum sectors. Harvey states that this approach results in a 'more fully dialogical, respectful and complex discussion of outcomes to which those researched also have access and the right of response' (2003: 142). The access to research and the right to response will be made available to all of those who were involved with the data collection and interviews for this thesis; this method will aid the construction of a

complete picture (as far as possible) of how medieval Jewish history is being publicly remembered on a local level. There are private archives held by public organisations such as Norwich Museum Services that provides evidence to support the information that has been shared during interviews, for example, emails, and unpublished reports. However, due to the nature of these documents, and their unpublished format, a Freedom of Information request is required to gain access; best practice as advised by the UK government was applied in these cases (see Chapters Six and Seven). The methodologies employed by this research project, as a whole, will enable the production of new insights, theories, and analysis, allowing the formulation of a model of remembering that can be utilised to recover the past heritage of medieval Anglo-Jewish communities.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

The Journey of Memory: Forgetting and Remembering England's Medieval Jews contributes to a progressive inter-disciplinary approach to Medieval Jewish History, asking new questions and adding a fresh perspective through the lens of Religious Studies and Death Studies. This literature review will assess scholarly works in the main fields relating to this project, which are Anglo-Jewish history, Archaeology, Dark Tourism, Death Studies (including Jewish theologies of death), Heritage, Memory Studies, and Public History.

Anglo-Jewish History

The history of the medieval Anglo-Jewish community is both significant in its own right and 'vital to the understanding of the political and social history of the region' at the time (Skinner 2003a: 1). The historiography of Anglo-Jewish history is also important, for several reasons. Firstly, it demonstrates the complexities of the field and the barriers that have been faced in its development. Secondly, it gives an indication of the sources and texts that are available to local museums, tourist services, heritage organisations, and interested members of Jewish, and non-Jewish communities. Finally, it creates a foundation from which this study can assess the level of accessibility of these sources to members of the public.

After the Jewish expulsion of 1290, there was no communal Jewish presence in England again until the seventeenth century (Lavezzo 2016: 212) when a 'Sephardic community developed in London' (Bell 2013: 153). The study of Anglo-Jewish history, however, was a relatively neglected field until the nineteenth century and since then it has not only faced numerous obstacles and been reflective of the developments and tendencies in English History, but it has been shaped by wider political and social events, and pressures. In the 1880s and 1900s, there was a large-scale immigration of Ashkenazic Jews into Britain fleeing the pogroms and economic hardship of Eastern Europe. This mass influx of Jewish migrants resulted in increasing negative popular feeling that culminated in the 1905 Aliens Act; a piece of legislation that stigmatised the whole Jewish population (Cesarani 1992: 34). In response to growing xenophobia during the nineteenth century, the already established elite Anglo-Jewry took part in a defensive strategy using events such as The Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition in London (1887), and the founding of the Jewish Historical Society of England (JHSE) (1893), to demonstrate Jewish rootedness and contribution to all aspects of English life (Cesarani 1992: 34).

The apologetic tendencies of authors of Anglo-Jewish history continued into the early twentieth century, as works by pioneering Historians in the field, such as Cecil Roth (1928), reflected the pressures of early twentieth century notions of race (Lawson 2008) and conformed to this model of communal defence. Historian Patricia Skinner notes that is important to remember that scholars of this time were also faced with the barrier of anti-Semitism; an important consideration that is too often overlooked in a post-Shoah era (2003a: 4). The Shoah is the Jewish term for what is commonly called the Holocaust: ‘the systematic, bureaucratic, state-sponsored persecution and murder of Jews by the Nazi regime and its collaborators’ (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum n.d. [online]). At its worst, anti-Jewish feeling in Britain during this period was epitomised by events such as the 1911 Tredegar riot, which saw Jewish businesses looted, and the 1920s anti-Zionist sentiments of members of the establishment, such as the Conservative politician and Secretary of State, William Joynson-Hicks (Herf 2013: 212). Historian David Cesarani traces the early historiography of Anglo-Jewish history (1992: 30-37) and highlights the impact of such times on early Anglo-Jewish Historians; he states, that as ‘a consequence [of these pressures] an unwritten [apologetic] code evolved that directed researchers away from anything that was unpleasant, tainted with criminality, or discordant with the dominant political trends of the day’ (1992: 36). Therefore, Jewish history in the early twentieth century was being written with a prominent agenda and a focus on positive histories; an interesting contrast to the approach that characterised the period after the Shoah, when trends shifted toward a focus almost exclusively on negative histories, which will be explored further below.

Whilst, early Anglo-Jewish history was conducted from an overtly positive perspective in order to defend the Jewish community from the broad social stigmatisation of the era, it was also a reflection of the wider trends in approaches to English History at the time. Cesarani notes that:

early Anglo-Jewish Historians simply reflected the unquestioning patriotism and adulation of English institutions characteristic of F. W. Maitland, William Stubbs, J. B. Seeley, J. R. Green, Edward Freeman – the great Historians later debunked for their racist and imperialist preconceptions (Cesarani 1992: 37).

The theme of Jewish history echoing the approaches of more mainstream history was consistent throughout the different areas of Anglo-Jewish historical writing. For example, as Historian Tony Kushner demonstrates, ‘the failure to mention the history of Jewish women until the 1900s mirrored the bias in history writing as a whole with its focus on “great men”’ (2009: 88).

In the years following the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition and the founding of the JHSE, there was an increase in the study of Anglo-Jewish history which resulted in the first publications of primary

source material, as well as a series of important articles (e.g. Davis 1888; Abrahams 1893; Jacobs 1893; Rigg 1902; Hyamson 1908). Such works formed the backbone of medieval Anglo-Jewish history and continue to be significant today, as Skinner notes, they are 'still heavily cited and not yet satisfactorily replaced' (2003a: 4). For the most part, these works consist of edited compilations of institutional fiscal sources produced by the medieval Christian administration for the monarchy and its treasury, such as Historian James Macmullen Rigg's *Calendar of the Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews* (1905). The significance of the Plea Rolls to the study of Anglo-Jewish history is unparalleled, indeed as Historian Robert Chazan, states, 'if we today possessed nothing more than the Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews, English Jewry would be far and away the best documented Jewish community in thirteenth-century Latin Christendom' (2006: 155). Rigg's work, published in 1905, (CPREJ I) was the start of a long-term project of publication which, whilst making the sources more widely accessible, was also problematic in that the most recent volume of the Plea Rolls, published in 2005 (CPREJ VI), numbered just six in the series. Historian Paul Brand states that seventy-two Plea Rolls survive from an original number of more than four hundred. The number of surviving rolls versus the number in publication is not the only issue, as Brand also notes that around nineteen of the surviving rolls are partial duplicates covering the same terms made for different justices, several are significantly damaged, and finally, 'many of the surviving rolls are... are clearly incomplete' (2003: 78). Further, there have been significant gaps between the publications of earlier and later volumes, the largest gap being between volume three in 1929 (CPREJ III) and four in 1972 (CPREJ IV), testifying to the somewhat erratic nature of scholarly interest in medieval Anglo-Jewish history. Notably, eight years after the publication of volume six in 2005 (CPREJ VI), Historian Joe Hillaby stated, '[t] it is hoped that publication by the [Jewish Historical] Society of the remaining Plea Rolls is completed in the near future' (Hillaby and Hillaby 2013: 135), yet in 2018 that hope has still yet to be realised.

After the first primary sources were published, works began to be produced by Historians such as Michael Adler (1939a), and Cecil Roth (1941). These Historians were largely observant Jews producing Anglo-Jewish history as a specialist field, segregated from the mainstream of English history. However, Roth was one of the only institutionally supported Jewish Historians at this time, with others such as Albert Hyamson, and Adler working in positions outside of academia. This trend of primary researchers operating outside of higher education institutions has continued into the present day, including scholars Joe Hillaby, and Robin Mundill; notably, prominent Anglo-Jewish scholar and Historian Aubrey Newman asserts that 'members of university faculties... seldom work... in a Jewish field' (1992-4: 215-18). The reason for this is unclear, but the situation has meant that calls for works

that would see medieval Jewish history considered in its entirety have been left unanswered (Stacey 1987: 68; Skinner 2003a: 1).

In 1939, Adler introduced the topic of women into Anglo-Jewish history for the first time with his pioneering paper *The Jewish Woman in Medieval England* (1939b: 15-46), which demonstrated the prominence of Jewish women within the records of the pre-expulsion Anglo-Jewry. Kushner asserts that Adler's introduction of this topic was based on '[e]thno-religious pride in these women' and that his work had a deliberate agenda to defend the Jewish name (2009: 90). However, Adler's work is also significant as it pointed out an area that had been neglected in Anglo-Jewish studies and continued to be so for many decades until works were published later by Historians such as Barrie Dobson (1992). Dobson's study of Jewish women was written at a time when gender and social history was making a break through into the mainstream study of English history (1992), thus his work was both innovative yet also timely. As academic focus on inclusivity increased and previously marginalised groups were acknowledged, Anglo-Jewish history was once again reflecting the wider trends of English history. However, Dobson warned of the potential risks that could be encountered whilst studying these newly introduced topics, claiming that there was a 'temptation to idealise [the female Jew], just because she is a Jewess' (Dobson 1992: 146). Such comments demonstrate the tensions that can be caused by the introduction of different, or original topics and how they are used. This issue will be returned to in my case study of medieval Anglo-Jewish heritage and history in Winchester in Chapter Four, with reference to Licoricia, a prominent businesswoman who was explored by Suzanne Bartlet (2000), another Historian who focussed on medieval Anglo-Jewish women.

In 2000, Bartlet's work provided an innovative and progressive approach to the medieval history of Anglo-Jewry by centring on women. Kushner states that Bartlet's work produced a 'corrective' approach to Adler's 1939 text and was also 'far less sanguine about the relative freedoms enjoyed by Jewish women [than was] suggested by Adler and later by Dobson' (2009: 19). Bartlet herself states she was 'less optimistic about the potential of the surviving medieval records' than her predecessors, and notes 'that the history of Anglo-Jewish women has yet to be written and may never be known in its entirety' (Bartlet 2003:119). Bartlet's integrative approach to medieval Anglo-Jewish history has seen a number of successors, such as Historians, Cordelia Beattie and Kirsten Fenton's, *Intersections of Gender, Religion and Ethnicity in the Middle Ages* (2011), which deals with medieval gender studies as a general topic.

A notable contribution to Beattie and Fenton's edited volume is Historian Hannah Meyer's chapter 'Gender, Jewish Creditors, and Christian Debtors in Thirteenth-Century Exeter' (2011). Meyer's work is important, as it includes a focus on medieval Jewish women, but perhaps more significantly, it highlights a new approach towards previously overlooked sources; Meyer extrapolates new information about Jewish female moneylending and attitudes towards Jews at the time from her close reading of the *Mayor's Book of Exeter* (2011). The importance of using original records from local archives has also been noted and utilised by Mundill (2010). Mundill further demonstrates the successes that can be found in returning to original sources, rather than reusing the nineteenth century publications which are often inaccurate and missing useful material, such as account information removed by editors who would have considered it irrelevant at the time. In the same way, Bartlet identified that looking in the sub-entry of Jewish personal names was required in order to locate information about key female figures in the standard indexes of published records (2009: 10). This novel thematic approach of looking for a single topic within the original sources has also been fruitful for Historians such as Zefira Entin Rokeah, and Cheryl Tallan. Rokeah has written extensively about crime and punishment among medieval Anglo-Jews, in particular, providing new information on the arrests of Jews for coin clipping in 1278-9 (e.g. 1984; 1988-90; 1990-2). Tallan's PhD (1989) and subsequent publications (1990; 1992; 1994) focus on the lives of Jewish widows based on information from the *responsa* literature (rabbinical rulings on questions asked about Jewish law).

Bartlet's most recent work, *Licoricia of Winchester: marriage, motherhood and murder in the medieval Anglo-Jewish community* (2009), has also drawn more attention to the previously marginalised Anglo-Jewish history of Winchester. The text is accessible and easily understood by those outside of academia, and the resulting narrative, constructed around the life of one individual, Licoricia, has contributed towards efforts of transitioning from forgetting to remembering Anglo-Jewish history in Winchester, particularly in terms of public history and engagement. The most recent publication in the area of publicly-available local Anglo-Jewish history in Winchester is Religious Studies scholar Christina Welch's 'Putting Jewish medieval Winchester on the tourist map' (2016). Welch's article discusses the development of the *Medieval Jewish Trail* (2015b), the first of its kind in the city, and also acts as a direct response to an article highlighting the city's negation of its medieval Anglo-Jewish heritage (Griffiths 2012). The situation in Winchester makes it relevant to the remit of this thesis and therefore it is the focus of one of the case studies.

The case studies for this project are (alphabetically): Bristol, Northampton, Norwich, Winchester, and York. There have been individual histories produced in some form or another for the medieval Jewish

communities of these cities (e.g. Adler 1928; Lipman 1967; Dobson 1974; Barlow and Biddle 1976; Hillaby 1992-4; Jolles 1996). The works of Vivian Lipman on Norwich (1967) and Dobson on York (1974) were significant in pioneering the area of local medieval Anglo-Jewish Studies, although other local studies have been conducted elsewhere, including: Cambridge (e.g. Dobson 2010: 101-126), Canterbury (e.g. Adler 1939a: 47-121), Exeter (e.g. Adler 1931; Mundill 1998), Hereford (e.g. Hillaby 1984; 1985), Leicester (e.g. Levy 1908), Lincoln (e.g. Roth 1934; Hillaby 2013), Oxford (e.g. Roth 1951 and 1957), Southampton (Allin 1971) and Worcester (Hillaby 1990). Hillaby's work on the Anglo-Jewish communities of the Midlands (1985-2002) and Mundill's examination of rural Anglo-Jewish communities (1998) continue to push the boundaries of, and re-write, Medieval Jewish History in Britain, although it is commonly accepted that little more can be added to the work already done on the medieval Jewish communities of Norwich and York due to the thoroughness of previous publications, mentioned above.

There are a number of local medieval Anglo-Jewish histories which are rather more limited and thus, are in need of updating or reworking; for example, the local studies of medieval Jewish Bristol (Adler 1928), Northampton (Jolles 1996), and Winchester (Carpenter Turner 1954). Such works have been made outdated by new archaeological discoveries (e.g. Bristol's medieval structure thought to be a *Bet Tohorah* 1987), as well as new methodologies (e.g. the introduction of literary theory by Bale 2009; 2010). Others are left wanting in other ways, such as errors in need of clarification or correction, as with Adler's work on Bristol (1928), which is discussed and updated by Historians Joe Hillaby and Richard Sermon in their article 'Jacob's Well, Bristol: Mikveh or *Bet Tohorah*' (2004: 130). Further issues can be found in that, local histories of medieval Jewish communities also often feature in volumes dedicated to larger time spans, such as Judith Samuel's *Jews in Bristol: the history of the Jewish community in Bristol from the Middle Ages to the Present Day* (1997). Similarly, this aspect of local history can be present yet marginalised within more general histories, such as, Historian Derek Keene's *A survey of medieval Winchester* (1985a; 1985b), where 'roughly just ten pages are devoted to the Jews out of a total close to fifteen hundred' (Kushner 2009: 95). Finally, some histories of medieval Jewish communities are simply awaiting publication, such as Historian Lauren Fogle's book on London, based on her PhD thesis 'Jewish converts to Christianity in medieval London' (2006).³

In a wider context, the most prominent issue to have affected the study of Anglo-Jewish history is that of the Shoah, which has been significant and far reaching, as the 'growth of interest in the modern catastrophe of the Jews led to centres for Jewish history beginning to emerge in universities across

³ Lauren Fogle (2016), Email to Toni Griffiths, 04 May.

the world' (Skinner 2003a: 4). As a result, work on medieval Anglo-Jewry as a whole between the 1960s and 1990s was erratic, due in part to the development of Holocaust Studies; a subject which focussed on a modern history that included Jews as part of a larger narrative on industrialised genocide and the ethics of Othering. This work frequently took academic precedence in universities and as such work on Jews in medieval Britain was 'confined to specialist journals, a state from which is has only recently begun to emerge' (Skinner 2003a: 6). This change in focus can also be seen in the titles of works such as Mundill's *England's Jewish Solution. Experiment and Expulsion, 1262-1290* (1998) and Historian Richard Huscroft's *Expulsion: England's Jewish Solution* (2006). These titles have resonance with terminology used to describe the Shoah, implying a parallel with Hitler's Final Solution and the medical experimentation on Jews by the Nazis (e.g. Aly 1999; Cesarani 2016); but in the case of Mundill at least, it was more the publisher's idea than the author's. These examples provide evidence of Medieval Jewish History being branded in a way that might appeal more to scholars of Modern Jewish History.

The increased academic attention on Jewish History in the modern world also impacted on Medieval Jewish History in other ways, such as changing perspectives on anti-Semitism. The flexibility in the definitions of the term anti-Semitism, which was coined in the nineteenth century, and how it is applied in a variety of historical contexts, has brought complications to the field; for example, in the assertion that the atrocities of Nazi Germany found its origins in medieval England (e.g. Hillberg 1961; Langmuir 1996). This example is particularly complex as the term '*holocaustum*', or 'holocaust' was first used in an English historical-literary context by Richard of Devizes in his twelfth century *Chronicle* (trans. by John Appleby: 1963).⁴ There are, however, differences between what the term 'holocaust' meant then and what it connotes now, thus the specifics of the context in which it is applied is key; the same, it can be argued, applies to the term 'anti-Semitism' (e.g. Bale 2006). The latter is notable in that the Shoah has formulated a lens through which medieval Jewish history is now viewed. The terms anti-Semitism and holocaust will be discussed further in Chapter Four.

Works produced after the Shoah continued to use early documentary sources, for example, Roth's second edition of *A History of the Jews in England* (1949), and Historian H. G. Richardson's *The English Jewry under Angevin kings* (1960). Richardson's work was considered pivotal, and according to

⁴ Richard of Devizes talks about the son being immolated to the father, i.e. a burnt offering which is the definition of 'holocaust'. Devizes uses the term correctly, however, he uses anti-Semitic language throughout e.g. referring to the Jews as 'bloodsuckers' (1963: 3-4), thus illustrating the importance of context. The term 'Holocaust' has Greek origins and denoted animal sacrifices. The term then took on the notion of 'burnt offering' when the Septuagint was produced. The Hebrew *Olah* means 'that which goes up [in smoke]' (Berlin 2011: 154).

Historian Robert Stacey, the marker of ‘the true beginning of modern scholarship on medieval English Jewish history’ (1987: 63). The ‘significant contributions’ to the field made by Richardson, led to substantial changes being made by Roth in his third edition of *A History of the Jews in England* (1964) (Hillaby and Hillaby 2013: 185). However, despite the obvious significance of Richardson’s work, his approach came under criticism by medievalist and Historian of anti-Semitism, Gavin Langmuir. Langmuir asserts that Richardson failed to acknowledge the violence of the time, notably in his omission of ritual murder allegations, and the events such as the Jewish martyrdom/massacre in York (1190).⁵ Langmuir argues that Richardson wanted ‘to stress the brighter side of the picture’ (1996: 222), and highlights that the violence experienced by British Jews in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, is an integral part of their history and demonstrative of anti-Semitism within medieval culture (1996: 133). Langmuir is an extreme proponent of this view, yet more generally his focus on the continuity and repetition of anti-Semitism across time and space, has been echoed in the justification of ‘beginning-to-end histories’ of anti-Semitism, which have intensified since the Shoah from the perspective of it being an inevitable part of the Jewish experience (Kushner 2013: 438). Notably, Theologian Rosemary Radford Ruether, in her seminal work, *Faith and Fratricide: the theological roots of anti-Semitism* (1996), highlights the Christian role in the creation, perpetration, and continuance, of anti-Semitism and thus its embeddedness in European (and European-derived) cultures.

The horrors of the Shoah also triggered a new focus on memory work, memorialisation, and commemoration. Journalist and Author Ruth Ellen Gruber describes this trend as the ‘Jewish phenomenon’ where by the 1990s ‘anything to do with Judaism, Jews, the Holocaust, and Israel – was increasingly recognised’ across Europe (2002: 5). Indeed, in 1994 Judaic Studies Scholar James Young noted that:

[t]he number of monuments and memorial spaces in Europe, Israel, and America dedicated specifically to the mass murder and resistance of Jews during World War II now reaches into the thousands, with dozens more being proposed and erected every year. [Further, over] one hundred museums and other memorial institutions devoted to this period have also been built, with many more planned (1994: ix).

The shift in approach attempted to usher in the embracing of what can be described as negative and/or victim histories, and as a result, academic work on medieval Anglo-Jewish history that focused on persecution and also on the commemoration of atrocities, increased (e.g. Dobson 2010; Mundill

⁵ The term martyrdom/massacre will be used in this thesis to describe the events of 1190 at Clifford’s Tower. The complexities of terminology in this context and the importance of sensitivity in terms of language used when discussing Jewish history is discussed in Chapter Five.

2010). However, this change in approach had the effect of marginalising the positive or everyday aspects of history; just as the earlier focus on positive Anglo-Jewish medieval histories, mentioned above, had the effect of marginalising the negative aspects. Evidence of contemporary partial histories can also be found in museums and the heritage industry (Burrell and Panayi 2006: 30-31), as well as the genre of Holocaust Film, which offers examples of how a focus on the negative can result in the marginalisation of Jews from their own histories (e.g. *Schindler's List* (Spielberg 1993) as critiqued by Abrams 2012: 92). There has recently been an increased recognition of sites of memory in the heritage industry, a case in point being the commemorative events in York where tour guides focused on Clifford's Tower as a site for remembering for the martyrdom/massacre of the city's Jews in 1190. Commemorations in York began in 1978 with the erection of a memorial tablet and saw an elaborate series of events to remember the octocentenary of the massacre/ martyrdom in March 1990 (Dobson 2010: x). These events, along with the work produced by Dobson on the city, make York a prime example of the post-Shoah approach to medieval Anglo-Jewish memory and will be discussed further in Chapter Five.

The core texts that offer an overview of medieval Anglo-Jewish history, noted above, are now over 50 years old, although they remain prominent as recommended reading sources; Chazan in his book *Reassessing Jewish Life in Medieval Europe* (2010), suggests consulting Roth's *A History of the Jews in England* (1964) and Historian Salo Baron's *A Social and Religious History of the Jews* (1952-1983) for a general history of England's medieval Jews (Chazan 2010: 159). But there have been calls by Historians such as Stacey (2011) and Paul Hyams (2015), for an updated overview of medieval Anglo-Jewish history, although, as with the Plea Rolls, these have yet to be produced. Indeed, Stacey has suggested that 'for now and the foreseeable future', Huscroft's *Expulsion: England's Jewish Solution* (2006) is the best survey available.⁶ However, as previously noted, not only does this book reflect contemporary interests in Holocaust Studies, but it also emphasises the difficulties and horrors of Jewish communities living in medieval England. It would be counter-productive to ignore the importance of anti-Jewish sentiment in medieval England, as the vast majority of work on the medieval Anglo-Jewish communities has been constructed using fiscal sources. These sources were, as previously noted, produced by the Christian administration, thus they generally offer a one-dimensional picture of its subject (Skinner 2003a: 6); one largely tainted by a legacy of Christian intolerance to Jews. Yet, completing an overview of medieval Anglo-Jewish history that is demonstrative of all of the advances made in the field thus far would not be a light undertaking, and the absence of such work is thus perhaps, more importantly, reflective of a lack of specialist

⁶ Robert Stacey (2016), Email to Toni Griffiths, 15 March.

academics in the field. Indeed, the two academics that would have been most likely to fulfil this requirement are the two who have made calls for it in the past: Stacey, and Hyams. However, due to general work commitments and retirement, it is likely that neither will produce such a historical overview.⁷

Although not a re-worked overview of the entirety of medieval Anglo-Jewish history, Historians Joe Hillaby and Caroline Hillaby, produced *The Palgrave Dictionary of Medieval Anglo-Jewish History* in 2013, in an attempt to draw together significant research and knowledge from the field. The book was originally intended to be part of a wider dictionary of Anglo-Jewish history in general, but it soon became apparent that this was not possible, as Medieval Anglo-Jewish history (1066-1290) is too distinct from the later histories which largely start with the so-called resettlement of Jews into Britain under Cromwell in 1651 (Hillaby and Hillaby 2013: xv). Through a detailed bibliography, Hillaby and Hillaby's book demonstrates advances in the field of Medieval Anglo-Jewish history, and it is also an easily accessible reference guide, thus reflecting an increased interest in the topic, both academically and from the general public.

In recent years, there has been a paradigm shift in Medieval Anglo-Jewish history. In part, this is due to a lack of specialist scholarship in the area which has led to the increased inter-disciplinary dialogue between History and other disciplines such as Archaeology, Theology, Art, and Literature. This new approach has broadened and enriched the subject of medieval Anglo-Jewish history, introducing new methodologies and including previously underutilised sources. The production of edited volumes such as *Jews in Medieval Britain: historical, literary, and archaeological perspectives* (Skinner 2003a), has demonstrated the progress being made in this new multidisciplinary approach. Historian and Literary scholar, Anthony Bale has stated that such works have enabled academics to construct new ideas and find out more about the everyday life of medieval Jews, 'as scholars sift through layers of representation of cultural domination to reconstruct the more mundane but important circumstances of Jewish finance, culture and everyday life in medieval England' (2010: 5-6). This approach continues to shape the field of Medieval Anglo-Jewish history as demonstrated by the edited volume by Historians, Sarah Rees Jones and Sethina Watson, *Christians and Jews in Angevin England: the York massacre of 1190, narratives and contexts* (2013).

Despite the significant archival studies that have been produced on medieval Anglo-Jews, answers to questions about their everyday life have thus far been, largely, unattainable. However, recent works

⁷ Robert Stacey (2016), Email to Toni Griffiths, 15 March; Paul Hyams (2016), Email to Toni Griffiths, 18 October.

have demonstrated that cooperation and collaboration between disciplines have contributed new elements that are beginning to be used as a way of filling some of these gaps. As part of the new approach Archaeologist David Hinton has introduced an archaeological perspective, utilising information that has previously been published only in local archaeological journals, as well as posing questions about ritual practice in the medieval Anglo-Jewish community (Hinton 2003). Hinton discusses the excavations of the medieval cemeteries in 'Medieval Anglo-Jewry: The Archaeological Evidence', highlighting that through the discoveries of unexpected grave alignments (when based on traditional Jewish ritual and discoveries elsewhere), more comparisons can be made with Jewish communities across Europe (2003:102). Hinton's work is unique, as he discusses the excavations of medieval Jewish cemeteries, but complicates it through the application of traditional Jewish burial rituals. However, his article only touches upon this complex issue, demonstrating the scope for the more in-depth study in this thesis as explored in Chapter Three. Further, Hinton references the volume by Jane Lilley, Gillian Stroud, Donald Brothwell and Mark Williamson (1994) on the excavations at York and the alignment of the bodies discovered there, and whilst he claims to agree with their findings, the information he presents is inaccurate (Hinton 2003: 102); Hinton's erroneous presentation of the Lilley *et al* excavation (1994: 308), and the complexities of medieval compared with traditional and contemporary Jewish burial customs, will be further explored in Chapter Three.

Other new approaches to the study of medieval Jewish history that have been introduced in recent years include significant works on the memory of the medieval Anglo-Jewry post-expulsion in 1290, using literary texts and medieval images to combine the theoretical with the archival and historical sources (Bale 2006; 2010). Bale's work in this area has been innovative through its reconsideration of previous assumptions in the consideration of relations between Christians and Jews. His book *The Jew in the Medieval Book: English Antisemitisms 1350-1500*, assesses the virtual or imaginative presence of Jews after their departure (2006), whilst 'Afterword: Violence, Memory, and the Traumatic Middle Ages' (2013), focuses on York specifically and places Clifford's Tower as a tailored representation of a culturally desired image. It is notable that the tower has been rebuilt several times. In 1190 it burned down and was rebuilt with further modifications in the thirteenth century. The tower was partially dismantled in 1596-7, rebuilt in 1642-3, and the interior was destroyed in 1684 in a fire, leaving only the shell that can be seen today (Her Majesty's Stationary Office 1972: 73-74). Due to the complexities of the chronology of Clifford's Tower, the commemoration and interpretation that takes place on the site is problematic; the site's role in medieval Jewish history and memory is discussed further in Chapter Five.

Other significant inter-disciplinary works in medieval Anglo-Jewish Studies include works, such as *Crafting Jewishness in Medieval England: Legally Absent, Virtually Present* (2011) by Krummel, and Historian Sara Lipton's *Dark Mirror: The Medieval Origins of Anti-Jewish Iconography* (2014). Krummel's work complicates and challenges the twin tradition narratives that Jews vanished from England in 1290, and that anti-Semitism was always anti-Judaism. It is important to note that this thesis defines anti-Judaism as a hatred of, and hostility to Judaism on religious grounds, and anti-Semitism as a hatred of, and hostility to Jewish people in general; ethically, culturally, and religiously. The two authors mentioned above define these concepts differently, and Lipton meanwhile discusses the use and meaning of the Jewish hat and beard in medieval imagery, arguing that they are not always used negatively, but rather they are sometimes used to 'signal...not Jewishness but knowledge and authority' (2014: 44). For example, one of the images of Jews in the Chapel is Nicodemus, who is crucial in the story of Christ, whilst the other Jewish figures in the images are Church Fathers; all of these Jews are there due to their roles in Christianity rather than primarily as Jews *per se* (Howard 1995: 101; 1997: 43-50).

Further interdisciplinary contributions have been made by Literary scholar, Susan Einbinder, who provides important insights into medieval Jewish literature, history, and memory (2002; 2009). Einbinder's work is constructed on the basis that medieval poetry has typically been read 'flatly, as windows, unwarped and transparent, onto a uniform experience of the past' (2009: 9). This approach, she argues, has hindered what these sources have to offer and thus, has restricted study more generally on the sources created by the medieval Jews themselves. Uniquely, Einbinder has considered the significance of medieval poetry (*piyyutim*) as historical texts, using Ashkenazic martyrological poems as a source of information about everyday life. Einbinder's use of French Hebrew sources is innovative and encourages further work. However, it must be noted that for Historians, there are risks to pursuing a line of enquiry based in mythic narrative; as Skinner highlights, 'Historians still need to be wary of trying to find the literal in the literary: Christian and Jewish writers in the middle ages both borrowed heavily from precedents, fitting their contemporary observations into well-established genres' (2003a: 9).

The recent changes in the scholarship of Medieval Anglo-Jewish history include the introduction of multi-discipline and inter-disciplinary approaches. The work for this thesis is solidly multi- and inter-disciplinary and, as noted in the Methodology, uses Religious Studies as a methodological grounding for this inter-disciplinarity. Utilising this framework allows for the introduction of Death Studies as a method of enquiry to the study of Medieval Anglo-Jewish history. This thesis draws on the work of

Hinton in exploring medieval Jewish cemeteries and builds upon the work of Kushner (2009), and Dobson (2010) on approaches to medieval Jewish memory in Winchester and York respectively. Local histories produced by Biddle, Dobson, Lipman, and others, will be used in an assessment of local approaches and public dissemination of medieval Jewish history, as well as to gain insight into religious life. This thesis also considers the tradition and rituals of medieval Anglo-Jews, through the lens of Judaism as a contemporary lived religion. Further, this project examines contemporary Jewish views on the subjects of medieval memory and heritage, and previously compartmentalised or marginalised aspects of medieval Anglo-Jewish history. In addition, it focuses on the impact of Dark Tourism and contemporary theories relating to Death Studies, all of which will now be discussed further below.

Death Studies and Archaeology

Death Studies is a relatively new academic field that is growing in popularity (Borgstrom and Ellis 2017: 93). Due to the diverse nature of the topic, Death Studies is characterised by an interdisciplinary approach, with publications from scholars of History, Philosophy, Sociology, Psychology, Theology, Religious Studies, and Literature. However, there has been little attention given to the subject of Jewish death specifically relating to medieval Anglo-Jewry, and as such approaching Medieval Anglo-Jewish history through a Death Studies lens generates new questions and produces fresh hypotheses.

Medieval Historian Phillipe Ariès is renowned as the progenitor of academic research into socio-historical approaches to death and dying. Ariès' 1981 publication, *The Hour of Our Death*, was the first typologisation of death, revealing patterns of human behaviour in the evolutionary progression of European death practices from the early Middle Ages into modernity (Brown 2012: 13-14). Ariès theorised five stages of death: 1. The Tame Death, 2. Death of the Self, 3. The Remote and Immediate Death, 4. Death of the Other, and 5. The Invisible Death (1981). 'The Tame Death' model is situated in the early to mid-Middle Ages and depicts death as being 'treated with familiarity and while it may be feared, its inevitability is accepted' (Ariès 1981: 29). Ariès theorised that at this time, death had to be made 'tame' through ritualisation, memory, and the supernatural, in order for society to continue functioning (1981: 603-605). However, whilst these death types provide a methodology to assess medieval attitudes towards death, they were largely constructed using French Catholic church records as a foundation. This somewhat restricts the application of Ariès' models in other cultural and religious contexts. Due to these restrictions, Ariès' theory will be drawn on rather than adhered to in this thesis.

Besides Ariès, there is only one other historically progressive death typology available for sociological analysis in a Death Studies context: Tony Walter's *The Revival of Death* (1994). Walter categorises responses to death in England into three ideal typologies: Traditional, Modern, and Neo-modern. He asserts that these typologies are rooted 'in a particular social context and a particular bodily context, which then enable a particular structure of authority' (Walter 1994:47). Walter's model provides an appropriate time-scale for this project in his traditional typology, and although it was designed for the application of the Christian religion, it can be applied loosely to the Jewish religious framework. Walter explains some of the limitations of his ideal typologies and their purpose, by stating that they are 'simplified ideas about social life...that do not exist in pure form in reality. In constructing ideal types, the sociologist posits pure forms, in order to identify tensions and complexities in real life' (Walter 1994: 47). Rohan Brown's unpublished PhD thesis demonstrates that there are historical inaccuracies to Walter's historical analysis, arguing that his single notion of 'Archetypal Death' and ideal of 'Traditional Social Structure' is deceptive (Brown 2012). Therefore, Walter's model assessing how people coped with death, their values, and what were considered the 'worst sins' of the time is used as a basis for exploring death and Judaism in medieval England (see Figure 1). Important differences in how medieval Christian and medieval Jews understood death include the conception of sin, in that, in brief, the concept of sin in Christianity the latter is rooted in the Augustinian notion of Original Sin where people are born sinful and salvation is gained after death through Christ (McGrath 2013). Conversely, Judaism perceives sin as non-adherence to God's laws (Mitzvot) which are atoned for annually at Yom Kippur (Cohn-Sherbok 2003).⁸ However, by drawing on both Walter's and Ariès' theories, different questions can be asked of existing source material, and new hypotheses developed.

Beyond bringing the theoretical approaches of Death Studies to the exploration of medieval Anglo-Jewry, there is also a gap in the existing field of study concerning the impact of, and reaction to, the rediscovery of medieval Jewish burial sites and human and archaeological remains. There were up to eleven medieval Jewish cemeteries in England (Hillaby and Hillaby 2013: 91), but only three of these sites have been excavated: London, Winchester, and York. However, there have also been discoveries of alleged Jewish human remains in Northampton (Hillaby and Hillaby 2013: 94) and Norwich (Anon 2011). The discovery of medieval Anglo-Jewish human remains suggested a new pathway to knowledge of medieval Jewish life, but this did not materialise as sites were not fully excavated (e.g.

⁸ Whilst in Judaism it is traditional to write G-d, I have chosen to write God as the vast majority of quotes, including those by Jews such as Rabbi Maurice Lamm (2000), use God rather than God.

Figure 1: Three Types of Death (Walter 1994: 48)

	<i>Traditional</i>	<i>Modern</i>	<i>Neo-modern</i>
Bodily context			
1 Archetypal death	Plague	Cancer/coronary	Cancer/AIDS
2 Dying trajectory	Fast	Hidden	Prolonged
3 Life expectancy	40	70	80
4 See others dying	Frequently	Rarely	Witness dying not death
5 Human condition	Living with death	Death controlled	Living with dying
6 Typical death	Child	Elderly	Elderly
7 Social birth	Follows physical birth	At physical birth	Precedes physical birth
Social death	Follows physical death	Precedes physical death	At physical death
8 Untypical death	Old (venerated)	Young (senseless)	Young (senseless)
Social context			
9 Social structure	Community	Public vs private	Private and public intertwined
10 Personhood	Belonging	Identity	Identities
Found in	Community	Family	Relationships
Death = loss of	Social position	Identity	Identities
Task post death	Reconstruct roles	Reconstruct identity	Reconstruct identities
Done through	Mourning	Grief	Grief work
Authority			
11 Authority	God/Tradition	Medical expertise	Self
Known through	The will of God	Doctor's orders	I did it my way
12 Institution	Clergy (male)	Doctor (male)	Counsellor (female)
13 Meaning	Church	Hospital	Home/hospice
14 Religion	Given	Abolished (in public)	Created interpersonally
		Choice of church	Inner spirituality
Coping			
15 Courage shown in	Prayer	Silence	Talk
16 Coping strategy	Ritual	Emotional privacy	Expressing
17 Lay support	Neighbours/Kin	Nuclear family	Self-help groups
18 Surveillance by of	Priest/Neighbour	Doctor/Neighbour	Counsellor
	Soul/Behaviour	Body/Behaviour	Feelings
The journey			
19 Traveller	Soul	Body	Psyche
20 Death	Result of sin	Caused naturally	Inner journey
21 Mode of transport	Ritual action	Technology/Drugs	Talk
22 Funeral	Burial	Cremation	Life-centred
Organised by	Community	Commerce/Municipality	Memorial society/DIY
Values			
23 Values	Respect	Health/Privacy/Dignity/fighting	Emotion/Growth/Choice
24 Worst sins	Unbelief	Independence	Autonomy/Control
25 The good death	Conscious	Intrusion	Isolation/Denial
		Unconscious/Sudden	Aware/Precious/My way
	Ready to meet Maker	No bother to others	Finish business

Winchester, and York)⁹ and remains were not securely identified as Jewish (e.g. Winchester and Norwich).¹⁰ In the case of the latter, it is notable that there are limitations to ascribing religious identity using archaeology. The problem of such an approach is highlighted by Archaeologist James Strange, who notes that ‘Archaeology theory predicts that a religious artefact, like religion itself, does not remain ‘pure’, but is always influenced by its culture’ (2011: 918). Therefore, studies which depend on, for example, the use of the Hebrew Bible to interpret religious identity in an archaeological setting are limited (Burke 2011: 896);¹¹ adaptations of Jewish burials, identified by documentary evidence in a medieval English context, are discussed in Chapter Three. Archaeologist Aaron Burke notes however, that there is a use for such an approach as a ‘starting point for the consideration of Israelite [and other] ritual and religion’ (2011: 897), by using the ‘so-called “ideal types” (i.e. standard patterns of ritual practice) in the archaeological evidence’ (2011: 897).

Other limitations concerned with the discovery of medieval Jewish human remains can be found in that full site reports and documentation were not published, such as the excavations at London in 1946-48, Winchester in 1968 and 1974, and Norwich in 2004. These unpublished reports are known as ‘grey literature’ and whilst it is common practice for such reports not to be published, grey literature can be difficult to locate. The excavation at Cripplegate cemetery in London is a case in point here; the fullest record that has been found so far features as a small paragraph buried within the larger publication of *The Excavation of Roman and Medieval London* (Grimes 1968), and *Post-war Archaeology in the City of London, 1946-68: a guide to records of excavations by Professor W. F. Grimes held by the Museum of London* (Shepherd 1998). There was also a detailed description of the cemetery published in an article by Marjorie Honeybourne in 1964, however, the original reports are unlocatable. Other site reports are typically more easily located as they are usually deposited in local archives and museums, however, they generally require pre-arranged appointments to access them. Winchester and Norwich are cases in point here, although the excavation reports from Crowder Terrace and Mews Lane in Winchester are currently being prepared for publication by the Hampshire Archive, and are expected to be in print sometime in 2018/19. The only site to have a book published specifically on a medieval Jewish cemetery excavation is the 1983 excavation at Jewbury, York. *The Jewish Burial Ground at Jewbury* (Lilley *et al* 1994), offers a full account of the site and the excavation, a catalogue of the human remains and other finds, and an interpretation of the archaeological

⁹ Helen Rees, Curator of Winchester Archaeology (2016) Unrecorded interview with Toni Griffiths, 21 April; (Lilley *et al* 1994).

¹⁰ Helen Rees (2016), Interview with Toni Griffiths, 21 April; Dobson notes that the York excavation ‘emerged at very short notice; and in conditions of considerable haste’ (2010: 89).

¹¹ Variations in Jewish burial customs are shown in Hachili 2001.

evidence. Further, it is notable that Heritage Gateway, provides online access 'to local and national information relating to England's heritage' (2012: [online]), which is a useful tool for this thesis as it offers, for example, an overview and reference to documents relating to the medieval human remains discovered in Northampton in 1992 (see Chapter Seven). It is notable that there are other important resources, such as the Archaeology Data Service, which are making grey literature freely accessible, however, there is currently no information available relating to the case studies of this thesis.

As noted previously, there have been few archaeological discoveries of displayable quality relating to the medieval Anglo-Jewry, thus there are few publications on this topic. *Jewish Heritage in England: An Architectural Guide* by Historian Sharman Kadish mentions some of the artefacts that have been found and some significant sites, such as the *mayan* or natural spring that would have been used for purification purposes by the medieval Jewish community in Bristol (2006: 98). However, this reference guide is described on the back cover as having been designed to appeal to 'specialist and tourist alike' (Kadish 2006), is not, nor claims to be, a definitive guide to medieval Anglo-Jewish artefacts; more detailed information about the physical evidence of the medieval Anglo-Jewry is often confined to specialist academic journals (e.g. Hillaby and Sermon 2004; Bowsher, Dyson, Holder, Howell 2007; Biddle 2012), which are rarely easily available in a public library. Explanation for the restriction of Jewish archaeology to specialist journals and other publications is offered by Archaeologist Timothy Insoll, who asserts that there has been a historic 'imbalance in the mainstream literature... In favour of Christian archaeological remains' (2001: 1); however, Gina Barnes' article *An Introduction to Buddhist Archaeology* (1995) and Insoll's *The Archaeology of Islam* (1999b), have worked to rectify this imbalance by focusing on other religions. The wider result of efforts to incorporate other religions is reflected in Insoll's edited volume, *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Ritual and Religion* [OHARR] (2011), where he notes that "'religion" and religious ritual has now become a routine part of archaeological attention – as it should' (2011: 2).¹² The OHARR also demonstrates other developments in the field of archaeology, whereby memory, time, space, and movement are highlighted as crucial components within the construction and maintenance of ritual and religions (Insoll 2011); indeed, the importance of the fields of archaeology, memory, movement (travelling), ritual, and religion are all key factors of this thesis.

The level of public accessibility to knowledge about medieval Jewish history is important, as where information is confined to specialist literature, local Jewish communities typically need academics with an interest in public history and knowledge exchange to pass on this information. A case in point

¹²¹² For more references that demonstrate archaeological attention on religion and ritual see: Insoll 1999a; Codreanu-Windauer 2004; Boissellier and Tolan 2015.

is Winchester, where the main text relating to a medieval Jewish token found in the city in 1968, was only published as part of the *Winchester Mint Series* (Biddle 2012); the local contemporary Jewish community were not made aware of the artefact's existence. Held in store, they only became aware of this tangible piece of evidence from Winchester's medieval Jewish community through collaborative work with academics on the *Medieval Jewish Trail* project. The issue of accessibility was acknowledged in the context of Winchester when Welch ensured that the token was acknowledged and made publicly accessible by using an image of it on the front page of Winchester's *Medieval Jewish Trail* (Welch 2015b). The importance of highlighting any archaeological evidence of medieval Anglo-Jewish life cannot be understated, as it provides tangible evidence of presence (see Chapter Four).

Other archaeological finds relating to medieval Anglo-Jewish history include the discovery of alleged human remains found in Winchester, York, Norwich, and Northampton (see Chapters Three-Seven). At the point of discovery and prior to reburial, issues were raised regarding how they should be treated, thus it was important for this thesis to explore the official processes required within this context. In all instances where human bones are discovered during building works (as was the case in the selected studies for this thesis) work must cease until the appropriate licenses can be obtained from the Ministry of Justice (Roberts, C. 2009: 24). The discovery of human remains on sites undergoing development in Britain is a common occurrence (OSSA Freelance 2012: 3), thus there are standards recommended by the Institute for Archaeologists and English Heritage (OSSA Freelance 2012; Mays 2018). Such discoveries raise ethical concerns, and these are considered in depth from an archaeological perspective by Clare Roberts in *Human Remains in Archaeology: A Handbook* (2009). Roberts states that 'Britain is seeing more focus and consideration now of how the dead from archaeological sites are treated, but there is more much work to do' (2009:18). Notably, the British Association for Biological Anthropology and Osteoarchaeology (BABAO), encourages 'the archiving rather than reburial of archaeological human remains, whether encountered in planned excavation or because of chance discovery' (BABAO 2016: [online]). This is in accordance with Ministry of Justice licences which include permission for 'the retention of human remains in museums or other suitable curatorial repositories' (Williams and Giles 2016). However, this practice has been disputed by various religious and spiritual groups due to faith-based prohibitions on the disturbance of the dead, and concerns over the appropriate treatment of ancestral remains (Blain and Wallis 2007). In all cases of the discovery of alleged medieval Jewish remains, contemporary Jewish communities from the Haredi and Orthodox traditions have claimed the remains for reburial (e.g. Chapter Four; Chapter Five; Chapter Six; Chapter Seven).

Calls for the repatriation and reburial of remains, considered ancestral, from affiliated groups and religions have been increasing, and it is an issue faced by heritage managers and museum professionals worldwide (Blain and Wallis 2007: 1). In the USA for example, the policy of NAGPRA (Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act 1990) has 'enabled some indigenous communities to make legal claims on "their" pasts' (Blain and Wallis 2007: 4), including material culture and human remains (Wallis 2003: 209). Other examples can be found in England through the rediscovery of medieval Jewish human remains (e.g. York in Lilley *et al* 1994), and also with reference to prehistoric remains and the claim placed on them by British Pagans (Blain and Wallis 2007). Anthropologists Jenny Blain and Robert Wallis, note the impact of NAGPRA on the British Pagan claims, asserting that the policy has 'framed their approaches to British reburial in language similar to that of Native American and other indigenous communities [as] some pagans perceive themselves as "new indigenes"' (2007: 5). The British Pagan argument focuses on the reburial of human remains, rather than the storage or display of them in museums and other sites, based on religious beliefs (e.g. Blain and Wallis 2007; Payne 2011). There are evident tensions here concerning post-mortem ethics, respect for religious and spiritual beliefs and practices, and the benefits to academic research and the wider populations, from the continued study of human remains. However, the most prominent issue related to this thesis is the question of ownership and from the Jewish perspective, this is closely linked to the notion of a continuous identity across time and space (Sheridan 2000), as will be explored in the Jewish context in Chapter Four.

The involvement of contemporary Jewish communities with the discovery of the medieval Jewish dead concerns issues of ownership, as noted above, and also the importance within Judaism of respecting the dead; this is linked to the belief that the body is a gift from God and that it belongs to God (Lamm 2000: 242). This belief structures the careful consideration given to the dead in Judaism and provides a foundation to the concept that 'the deceased is the owner of his grave or her grave' (Shudrich 2015: 79). In Judaism, it is believed that the soul has 'consciousness and awareness', and thus any interference with a body after it has been buried would bring harm to the individual's eternal soul (Levine 1997: 101). However, the discovery of Jewish remains in Europe following the Shoah has added complications to these beliefs; not only were these Jews brutally murdered, but their remains were thrown into mass graves, devoid of any kind of religious burial. As a result, Jewish organisations, such as the *European Agudas Yisroel* (the Union of Israel), a political movement of Orthodox Jewry, and leading figures including the Chief Rabbi of Poland, have written documentation on the protection and preservation of Jewish graves and cemeteries, advising adherence to normative Jewish religious practice even in complex situations (Schlesinger 2008; Shudrich 2015). The discovery of

Jewish remains is also a prominent issue in Israel where such finds are common, especially during construction work (Einhorn 1997). The Israeli situation is highly complex as it is politically charged, and any archaeological investigation, rescue or otherwise, faces fierce objection from Haredi groups (Einhorn 1997). The subject matter of these examples relates to Chapters Three and Seven, which all discuss the rediscovery of medieval Jewish remains in England. They assist in underpinning the actions and responses of the contemporary Jewish communities to archaeological discoveries of alleged medieval Anglo-Jewish human remains, and the subsequent treatment of such by archaeologists, heritage officers, and museum officials. The complexities of the Israeli situation are beyond the remit of this thesis but serve as a useful example of the involvement of the Haredi community in the discovery of medieval Jewish remains.

It is important to explore the responses of contemporary British Jews to the discovery of alleged medieval Anglo-Jewish human remains due to crucial variations and continuities between adherents of the differing Jewish traditions. However, despite the concerns of contemporary Jews regarding rediscovered human remains, there is little scholarly literature on the topic. Some academic works and newspaper articles touch on how Manchester's Orthodox Jewish community were involved in the post-excavation analysis of medieval Anglo-Jewish human remains in Winchester and York (e.g. Chayil 2007: [online]; Kushner 2009: 106).¹³ However, whilst the published material specifies the involvement of an Orthodox community, it was in fact, a group of Haredi Jews (Kadish 2011: 86). The confusion, especially by the press, over the various traditions of contemporary Judaism speaks to a general lack of knowledge of this complex religious and spiritual lifeway and further cements the need for a Religious Studies methodology to ground this thesis (e.g. Friedman 1991). Orthodox Jews are also noted to be involved in post-excavation cases in London and Bristol (e.g. Blair and Watson 2012),¹⁴ and in Norwich, in the aftermath of the bones discovered in a well (e.g. Anon 2013a; Sokol 2015); the role of Orthodox Jews, and other Jewish groups will be discussed further in Chapters Four-Seven of this thesis.

When there has been an involvement of contemporary Jews in places where alleged medieval Jewish human remains have been discovered, there is typically a very swift reburial of the remains, meaning that little has been done in terms of detailed archaeological data gathering post-excavation; for

¹³ Kushner describes the Jewish group as 'very Orthodox', however, he quotes the Head of Winchester Museums Services in their description of being 'unexpectedly visited by a group of Orthodox Jews' in March 2006 (2009: 106). In follow up conversations with the Head of the Museums Service, from the description of the Jews who visited, it was clear they were Haredi: Helen Rees (2016), Interview with Toni Griffiths, 21 April.

¹⁴ Steven Kavanagh, Owner of the Bristol Bet Tohorah (2016), Email to Toni Griffiths, 19 April.

example, in Winchester and Northampton which will be discussed in Chapters Three and Seven. Thus, there is a general paucity of information on medieval Anglo-Jewish human remains, although the published reports and discussions on the excavations of the medieval Jewish cemetery at York are credited as 'a very considerable achievement' (Dobson 2010: 89). However, in Norwich, there is the potential for further study, as the contemporary Jewish community gave permission for Norwich Museum to take bone samples from human remains discovered down a medieval well in 2011; these remains were believed to be medieval Anglo-Jewish and were reburied in 2013.¹⁵ These samples have recently been loaned to the Natural History Museum in London for a genome-wide study which 'involves rapidly scanning markers across complete sets of DNA' (Deoxyribonucleic Acid); results are expected in 2018/19 (Rocker 2013).¹⁶ The genome-wide sequence has a broader focus than other methods such as Mitochondrial DNA sequencing (e.g. Picornell, Giménez-Bonafé, Castro, and Ramon 2006; Xue, Lencz, Darvasi, Pe'er, and Carmi 2017), and it is hoped that information gleaned from the study may reveal the geographical origin of the people whose bodies were disposed of in such an unusual manner, thus providing additional information relating to the identity of these individuals. Chapters Four-Seven will address the issues concerning the excavation and preservation/reburial of the human remains in the case study locations.

In addition to examining the excavation and re-burial issues related to medieval Anglo-Jewish human remains, this thesis also explores and complicates what is known about the practices and customs of Britain's medieval Jews. It cannot be assumed that contemporary Jewish practices are consistent with how medieval Jews conducted their lives, thus archaeological discoveries allow the possibility of further insight into this subject; for example, the use of metal coffin fixings by medieval Jews is viewed as nonstandard to current Jewish practice which advocates the use of wooden pegs (Isaacs and Isaacs 2005: 63). Hinton touches on coffin fixings and medieval burial practice, and what can be determined from this about the Jewish community of the time (2003: 102-103), but there is more work to be done concerning medieval Anglo-Jewish ways of life, and especially their death practices. An important aspect to this concerns Mundill's suggestion, based on the work of Richardson (1960) and Lipman (1967), that medieval Jews did not all live in large cities such as Winchester, York or Bristol, and that some may have resided in smaller towns and even villages (Mundill 1998: 21). The potential diversity in medieval Anglo-Jewish residency is important as some modern Haredi Jews 'would claim that a Jew must, of necessity, live close to a synagogue and that, to have a synagogue, a

¹⁵ Vanessa Trevelyn, Head of Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service (2016), Interview with Toni Griffiths, 08 September.

¹⁶ Tom Booth, Bioarchaeologist at the Natural History Museum, London (2016), Interview with Toni Griffiths, 16 August.

large distinctive urban community is implied' (Mundill 1998: 22). However, it is highly unlikely there would have been a synagogue in small towns or villages. Mundill therefore argues that 'medieval Judaism must have been flexible and no doubt it was acceptable and possible for Jews to live in rural areas and to use the burial grounds and synagogues of the larger communities for burials or high festivals' (1992: 22); the role and location of cemeteries is critical for this study and is addressed in Chapter Three.

Due to the relative scarcity of direct sources available on the everyday lives of medieval Jews and their religious practices, other possibilities must be considered. Bartlet suggests that the works of Moses Maimonides, the twelfth century Sephardic theologian and philosopher, could act as a possible source from which to gain information about medieval Jewish religious practices and teachings. However, she warns that Maimonides' work 'is only an interpretation of the traditions of Jewish Law by a Sephardic scholar, and there is nothing to say that it had been generally adopted by the Anglo-Jewish community, or if anyone followed it to the letter' (2003:115). This is particularly important in terms of Bartlet's work as she focuses on Jewish women and notably female Jewish moneylenders who would travel for work purposes; Maimonides, although writing that women were permitted to leave their house for various reasons, did suggest that men should discourage too much unseemly freedom of movement (Berkovits 1998). With caution, however, Maimonides' work on the 'Laws of Mourning' and other references to mourning made in his *Guide of the Perplexed* (Halbertal 2013) can be utilised to provide a potential insight into the beliefs of the time; notably, Maimonides' *Thirteen Articles of Faith* remain central to Orthodox Jewish thought.

Other works that provide insights into medieval Jewish death include Yechiel Schur's unpublished PhD *The Care for the Dead in Medieval Ashkenaz, 1000-1500*, which considers the Anglo-Jewry as part of a broad cultural sphere of Ashkenazi Jews, spanning 'Germany, Austria, Switzerland, northern France, and England' (2008: 7). Schur justifies this wide scope as being due to:

[t]he dominance of Ashkenazic culture in these localities and the recognition of certain rabbinic scholars as the halakhic/authorities for Jews living in these countries (both in terms of halakhic rulings and the attraction of students coming from such diverse localities to the academies of certain rabbinic scholars) (2008: 7-8).

Indeed, the connection between medieval English Jewish communities and those on the continent in scholarly, legal and social matters, are evident in cases such as luminaries, for example Abraham ibn Ezra and Rabbi Yom Tov of Joigny resided in England (Stacey 2003: 47); David of Oxford's divorce from his wife, Muriel, in 1242, was escalated to the Paris *Beth Din* (Jewish court of law) (Goldy 2017: 301);

and, during 'times of danger English Jews took shelter with their co-religionists across the Channel, evacuating their children and their nurses there for shelter in 1265' at a time of persecution in England (Bartlett 2003: 115). However, in using European sources to determine English practice in life and death, caution should be employed, and such limitations will be explored further in Chapter Three.

Memory Studies

The label 'memory' is defined by David Berliner as aiming 'to grasp the past we carry, how we are shaped by it and how this past is transmitted' (2005: 200-201). The field of Memory Studies (what and how we know about historical knowledge) is a relatively recent development, originating from what has been described as the 'memory boom' in the 1980s (Rosenfeld 2007): an increase, or renewed enthusiasm for the past in popular culture and academic scholarship from a range of disciplines, including Anthropology, Cultural Studies, Sociology, History, and Literature. The impetus for the memory boom came, in part, from the 'memory crisis', a term coined by Literary critic Richard Terdiman (1994). It originated in the crisis of modernity in Nineteenth Century Europe and is defined by Terdiman as 'a sense that [the] past has somehow evaded memory, that recollection had ceased to integrate with consciousness' (1994: 4). The significance and relevance of the memory boom is demonstrated by Harrison, who describes it 'as one of the most important cultural developments of the past few decades' due to '[t]he globalisation of the public anxiety around memory in a media saturated world, and its flip side, a feverish obsession with not forgetting' (2013: 581). Indeed, Government Studies Scholar Eric Langenbacher and German Studies Scholar Freiderickr Eigler, assert that the period of intense focus on memory is ongoing, even as the events of the previous century begin to 'recede in time... and as cultural memories... with its turbulent and often catastrophic history become firmly implanted' (2005: 14).

As a topic of scholarly investigation, memory has 'been at the forefront of debates over transitional justice, post-colonial reconstruction, the legitimacy of political violence, [and] the legacy of the Holocaust' (Bell 2006: 1). In the case of the latter, the study of memory has been driven forward by the increasing emergence of Holocaust Studies, and it has proven integral in the field of medieval Jewish history in assessing how English cities confront this aspect of their past (e.g. Kushner 2009; Griffiths 2012). This Literature Review has demonstrated how work on memory has contributed to the multi- and inter-disciplinary advances of medieval Jewish history, through the works of authors such as Bale (2009; 2010) and Einbinder (2002; 2009). However, the lack of artefacts and the reliance on fiscal sources challenge how medieval Jewish history can be publicly remembered; a case in point is a

review of Winchester's *Medieval Jewish Trail* in the *Jewish News* notes that the walk 'requires considerable imagination, as only hints of the history can still be seen' (Daltroff 2016: [online]), thus demonstrating the complexities of remembering a materially lost community.

The analysis of how medieval Jewish history is publicly represented and memorialised can be informed through the incorporation of memory theory, including considering Jewish attitudes towards memory, public history, oral history, cultural memory, collective memory, and the use of memory by heritage, museums and tourist services. Literary critic, Kerwin Klein, confirms that all of these subcategories can be assumed under the title of Memory Studies, asserting that 'we now employ memory as a metahistorical category that subsumes all these various terms' (2000: 128). Klein also discusses a new structural memory, 'a memory that threatens to become Memory with a capital M [where] certain tropes appear time and again. The most obvious are archives and public monuments from statues to museums...' (2000: 135). Klein's approach is also inclusive of place names, and commemorations, thus relates directly to how medieval Jewish history is publicly remembered in places such as York through Clifford's Tower, Winchester through Jewry Street, and Norwich through commemorative plaques at Chapelfield Shopping Centre and Haymarket. These tropes, including Dark Tourism (discussed below), are all key parts in the analysis of the individualistic approaches of different towns and cities towards the representation of their medieval Jewish communities, and thus have been analysed further throughout this thesis.

French Historian Pierre Nora's 'Between Memory and History,' the introduction to the anthology *Le Lieux de Memoire* (1989), is considered to be foundational to the study of memory and continues to prompt academic discussion on the topic (e.g. Bale 2013). Nora's work is concerned with the locality of memory, arguing that there are now sites of memory, or '*lieux de memoire*' because there are no longer real environments of memory, or '*milieux de memoire*' (1989: 7). These sites of memory have been described by Peter Seixas as integral to public memory, which is dependent on them, as 'structural supports' (2006: 11). Seixas' view demonstrates the impact of Nora's work on contemporary theorists such as Klein and his concept of structural memory (discussed above). Nora argues that these structural supports 'originate with the sense that there is no spontaneous memory' (1989: 12), highlighting how sites of memory can be the sole public representation of an aspect of history. It is important to note that Nora's assertions refer to a change in society that elicited a change in approach towards memory at state level. In this way, Nora's work can be seen as a metanarrative approach which limits how far his work can be applied to this thesis, as the national focus 'reinforce[s] a sense of collective memory that ignores the subaltern and other sub-national forms of memory and

remembering' (Smith 2006: 60). The concept of subaltern memory and heritage can be understood as minority histories or history from the bottom-up (e.g. Samuel 1994). This thesis is grounded in subaltern history in its focus on the topic of medieval and contemporary Jewish communities; in Kushner's discussion about the integration of minority history in England, Jews are featured alongside other such groups including Huguenot, Italian, Irish, Black, and Asian communities (2003: 6). Some aspects of Nora's work are, however, applicable to this study in the context of public facing memory, where after extended periods of omission and neglect, newly represented sites of memory have become responsible for how this part of the past is remembered locally (e.g. Winchester and York).

Nora also asserts that there is an opposition between history and memory whereby memory 'accommodates', 'nourishes', 'installs', while history is 'suspicious of memory, and its true mission is to suppress and destroy it' (1989: 8-9). The view of memory standing in for history is relevant to this thesis, because as Bale highlights, 'almost all the sources we have by which we know anything about [the martyrdom/massacre at Clifford's Tower] are, in one way or another, explicitly memorial' (2013: 303). However, scholars such as Hannah Ewence have argued against Nora, stating that 'memory is rarely destroyed by history but is, instead, frequently the means of illumination and rejuvenation' (2013: 162). Further, she notes that the oppositions between history and memory appear 'fabricated and unnecessarily provocative, overlooking the ways in which history and memory can, and do, successfully overlap and cross-fertilise' (Ewence 2013: 160). Ewence demonstrates that Nora's consideration of history and memory in separate spheres is no longer possible, as the relationship between the two, and how they interact with one another, needs to be acknowledged and considered. Indeed, the relationship between history and memory is multifaceted and integral to this project's study of how medieval Jewish history has been, and continues to be, publicly presented.

The assessment of the relationship between history and memory will be complicated further by the consideration of memory in a specifically Jewish context. The foundational work on this topic is Historian Yosef Yerushalmi's *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory* (1982). In a Jewish context, memory is central to the construction of identity; Yerushalmi asserts that the Jews were the archetypal people of memory (Klein 2000: 127), stating that the Hebrew verb *zakhor*, translated to mean 'remember,' appears in the Hebrew Bible approximately 169 times, proclaiming memory as a religious responsibility, even when it is not commanded (Yerushalmi 1982: 5). The centrality of memory in Judaism is exemplified through Jewish religious practice and ritual. Key examples of this can be found in major Jewish festivals such as *Pesach* (Passover), where the *Seder* meal, which celebrates Jewish freedom from slavery in Egypt, 'in some sense [can] be seen as a symbolic re-

enactment of a historical moment' (Staff 2003: [online]). Other examples are found in the holiday of *Hanukkah*, which 'celebrates the victory of the Maccabees over the Greeks and the miracle of a one-day oil supply that lasted for eight days' (Staff 2003: [online]); *Hanukkah* focuses specifically on remembering the miracle that permitted the continuance of the Light of God in the Temple (Staff 2003). Thus, the action of remembering can be considered as a Jewish religious obligation, which may provide explanation as to why contemporary Jews are involved with commemorating and acknowledging medieval Jewish history; this is considered more in each chapter with the exploration of the involvement of contemporary Jews with public history projects, memorials, and commemorations.

A continuum in Jewish identity provides a link with the long ago past that can support claims of Jewish ownership over medieval Jewish history and the way it is dealt with, for example through how it is publicly presented, or how discovered medieval Jewish human remains are dealt with. Paul Braunstein highlights the issue of ownership in the context of memory through the development of what he calls 'possessive memory'; he asserts that this is where 'the barbed wire that individuals place around cherished or traumatic memories to prevent them from being manhandled by outsiders' (1997: 66). The context of Braunstein's theory is the memory of the Vietnam War (1955-75), and how it is influenced by the living memory of people who experienced it in their lifetime. Whilst medieval Jewish history is far removed from 'living memory', the constant Jewish identity as Israel, across time and space gives resonance to this theory.

Braunstein's notion of possessive memory can also be complicated by the introduction of religious memory, such as the lived tradition of Judaism which transforms the concept of living memory beyond the idea of one lifetime; this is demonstrated through traditions such as the provisions made for the Biblical prophet Elijah at circumcision ceremonies and the yearly *Pesach* festival. Elijah is an important Biblical figure who ascended to Heaven alive (2 Kings 2:11) and thus is believed to have never died. At every *Brit Milah*, or circumcision ceremony, '[a] chair is set aside for Elijah... so that [he] may attend, and a cup of wine is placed on every *Seder* table at Passover so that Elijah may stop to take a sip' (Karesh and Hurvitz 2006: 135). Rabbi Sybil Sheridan argues therefore that 'contemporary Jews are to regard themselves not only as the inheritors of such historical traditions but also as participants' (2000: 82) and further notes that 'identifying with the past from a contemporary position is common practice within the Jewish tradition' (2000: 82). In the application of possessive memory to the Jewish lived experience, Braunstein's theory of possessive memory is relevant. This theory asserts that as a result of this type of memory, there are tensions 'between knowledge derived from direct

experience, from “being there”, and the more removed (though not necessarily more objective) scholarship that predominates in academic circles’ (1997: 66). The distance, identified by Braunstein, between the owner of a memory (in this case the Jew at a ritual) and a scholar who cannot comprehend this past-in/as-the-present, demonstrates the importance of the inter-disciplinary approach this project takes. In considering the perspective of the Jewish approaches to medieval Jewish memory and the connections contemporary communities have with the past, utilising Religious Studies as a methodology highlights the importance of ensuring sensitivity in the study of such topics.

Memory is central to Jewish tradition and ways of life, from religious rituals to the telling of family stories, and as such it is also evident in what can be termed a ‘cultural product’. The works of Novelists such as Jonathan Safran Foer exemplify this in his book *Everything is Illuminated* (2003) which is ‘a reminder of the centrality of memory, especially that of past persecution, [and] in the construction of secular Jewish identities’ (Kushner 2009: 55). David Baddiel’s *The Secret Purposes* (2005) also focuses on the issues of memory and explores identity and the ways in which knowledge must be compromised in relation to historical record (Gilbert 2013). Baddiel addresses a previously overlooked history of the wartime internment of German- and Austrian-born Jews in England and utilises a combination of family history, fictional narrative, and documentary source material. Baddiel’s novel is influenced by the experiences of his German-Jewish grandfather, thus is driven by a connection. Similarly, this thesis highlights the connection that drives the involvement of contemporary Jewish communities in medieval Jewish memory, although this relates to a connection through a shared identity rather than a close family link. The recognition of a common Jewish identity across time and space allows for the consideration of a collective memory, a concept defined by Harrison as ‘the way in which a society of social group recall, commemorate and represent their own history (as opposed to personal memory)’ (2010: 318). Collective memory in a specifically Jewish context can be most strongly seen in the notion of Israel as a past, present, and future people. However, it is important to note that collective memory in this context can take many forms and can be dependent on which Jewish tradition it is part of. Whilst continuity applies generally in sacred text, set liturgy and ritual practice, it does not necessarily apply in practice between one contemporary Jewish stream and another. Thus, each stream (Haredi, Mainstream Orthodox, Reform etc) has a different approach to how the memory of medieval Jewish history and the discovery of human remains should be acknowledged and dealt with; this is explored in more detail in Chapters Four-Seven.

All studies on collective memory start with French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, who notably was arrested by the Gestapo after his Jewish father-in-law was arrested. Halbwachs was amongst the first to use the concept of memory in relation to the collective (1992). Historian Wulf Kansteiner conceptualised collective memory as the results of the interaction among three types of historical factors:

the intellectual and cultural traditions that frame all our representations of the past, the memory makers who selectively adopt and manipulate these traditions, and the memory consumers who use, ignore, or transform such artefacts according to their own interests (2002: 180).

This concept has been applied directly in this thesis in relation to how medieval Jewish history is being publicly remembered, through the consideration of crucial questions such as: what forces mould the way in which medieval history is represented? Who is making it? Who is consuming it? This allows for an understanding of the broader context in which the memory of this history is situated and considers the role of key stakeholders of this memory, as mentioned in the introduction. Kansteiner states that there is an obligation to ‘further collective memory studies by focussing on the communications among memory makers, memory users, and the visual and discursive objects and traditions of representations’ (2002: 197). In this way, Kansteiner highlights that there are many dimensions to the study of memory, a crucial factor that is also noted by Young in his assessment of Holocaust memorial sites:

...the “art of public memory” encompasses not just these memorials’ aesthetic contours, or their places in contemporary artistic discourse. It also includes the activity that brought them into being, the constant give and take between memorials and viewers, and finally the responses of viewers to their own world in light of a memorialised past (1994: ix).

The aspects of communication, the process of development, and response is integral to this study, particularly in the context of collaborative works that have taken place (e.g. the Winchester *Medieval Jewish Trail*),¹⁷ but also in the construction of new perspectives on medieval Jewish history (e.g. Clifford’s Tower).¹⁸

¹⁷ The Medieval Jewish Winchester project was a collaboration between members of the local Jewish community, academics and students at the University of Winchester, and Winchester City Council; it is discussed further in Chapter Four of this thesis.

¹⁸ Clifford’s Tower in York is currently being redeveloped and is reopened in 2018; researchers involved in the redevelopment have actively included the contemporary Jewish community in how medieval Jewish history is portrayed at the Tower, and this will be explored further in Chapter Five of this thesis.

In 2008, Halbwachs' theory of collective memory was developed by Religion and Cultural Studies scholar Jan Assmann (2008). Jan Assmann asserted that Halbwachs 'was careful to keep his concept of collective memory apart from the realm of traditions, transmissions, and transferences' which we propose to subsume under the term "cultural memory" (2008: 110). Assmann argued that whilst Halbwachs' distinction should be preserved, the concept of collective memory would be better served broken up into 'communicative' and 'cultural' memory, specifically noting the importance of including the cultural sphere which had been omitted by Halbwachs (2008: 110). The division of collective memory into communicative and cultural memory recognises that "'remembering" collectively [is] far more than just remembering. It is a purposeful act, actively constructed; active memory' (Stiles 2016: 14). Further, Harrison notes that active participation in the process of remembering is essential in 'cultivating and pruning [in order] to make confident decisions about which memories are valuable and which are not' (2013: 579). The concept of purposeful remembering relates to the memory of medieval Jewish history and highlights the importance of key stakeholders as the keepers of memory, as well as the active participants in acknowledging and preserving this aspect of history.

The importance of cultural memory is demonstrated by Anthropologist Paul Connerton in *How Societies Remember* (1983). Connerton focuses on the concept of embodied memory as a crucial aspect of how groups convey and sustain cultural memory through the acts, or performance, of ritual and practice (1983: 5). English Literature and Cultural Studies scholar Aleida Assmann (2006), also notes the centrality of embodied memory in her assertion that where these groups do not have a memory, they make one with the aid of symbols, texts, images, rites, ceremonies, places and monuments (2006: 216). Further, '[t]ogether with such a memory, these groups and institutions "construct" an identity... based on selection and exclusion, neatly separating useful, and relevant from irrelevant memories' (Assmann 2006: 216). In this way, Assmann highlights the processes of remembering and forgetting, which relates directly to how medieval Jewish memory is constructed and represented through the decisions and actions of key stakeholders (both Jewish and non-Jewish). Within this context, there are identifiable tensions between Jewish and non-Jewish approaches to memory, and these are entwined with issues of ownership, responsibility, and power over the memory and history of medieval Jews, as well as the rediscovered human remains.

The importance of forgetting within the study of memory is demonstrated by Sociologist Elena Esposito, who states that 'the topic of forgetting has always accompanied, like a kind of shadow, the theories and techniques of memory' (2008: 181). Esposito explains that 'without the ability to forget – the faculty to remember would soon be overloaded' (2008: 182). Therefore, there is a necessary imbalance between these two concepts where, although 'remembering and forgetting always

proceed together', they must also 'get stronger and weaker at the same time' (Esposito 2008: 182). A case in point is the remembering of Jewry Street at the expense of the memory of Shoe Makers Street in Winchester which is explored in Chapter Four. The themes of memory and forgetting are amongst those 'insistently return[ed] to, and circle[d] around' (Wylie 2007: 174) by influential Novelist and Scholar W. G. Sebald (e.g. *The Emigrants* 2016; *The Rings of Saturn* 2016; Austerlitz 2018). Philosophy Scholar Kathy Behrendt notes that Sebald considered a different order and magnitude of forgetting, in what is referred to as 'historical amnesia' (2010: 400). Behrendt defines historical amnesia as 'the loss of propositional, non-experiential memory, concerning more widely-known historic events' (2010: 400). Sebald identifies several variants of amnesia: personal, historical, and collective, and in response to this he regards 'remembering as a moral and political act' (Lubow 2011: 161). Further, Sebald's work highlights the significant role of space and place within the process of history and memory, and through 'a hauntology that unsettles narrative and subject... reveals the shaping of place through haunting rather than dwelling, that dislocates past and present, memory and visibility (Wylie 2007: 185); he formation of place in this way, is what Algerian-French Philosopher Jacques Derrida calls 'spectrality', or the revenance of the ghostly (e.g. Derrida 1994). The relevance of spectrality to this thesis can be found in its application to sites of memory by Cultural Geographer John Wylie. He asserts that by looking and remembering, the scene of memorial becomes 'a watching', where '[w]ithout realising it we had been looking at – or, better, *looking-with* – a host of ghosts and memories' (Wylie 2009: 277).

Dark Tourism and Horrible Histories.

Dark Tourism reflects an ingrained fascination with death, disaster, and atrocity, attracting visitors to sites historically associated with these things. The pursuit of Dark Tourism covers a broad historical spectrum ranging from the Roman Colosseum '[w]ith death and suffering at the core of the gladiatorial product [to the] public executions of medieval period up until the nineteenth century' and more recently, the 'Dark Camps of genocide such as Auschwitz-Birkenau' (Stone 2006: 157). However, the label of Dark Tourism is a relatively new construct in the field of 'academic study and topic of media parlance' (899). Roxanna Magee and Audrey Gilmore note that there has been much scholarly disagreement on how to define Dark Tourism, but Tourism Scholar Philip Stone's definition of it as 'travel to sites associated with death, suffering and seemingly macabre' is largely accepted (Magee and Gilmore 2015: 899; Stone 2006: 146). In *The Palgrave Handbook of Dark Tourism Studies* (Hartmann, Seaton, Sharpley, Stone, and White 2018), Tourism and Travel Scholar Tony Seaton uses the term Dark Tourism alongside 'thanatourism', separating the two with an oblique (e.g. Seaton 2018: 13). Further, Seaton expands Stone's definition to encompass thanatourism, describing 'dark

tourism as encounters with the remembrance of death [and] Dark tourism/thanatourism [as comprising of] encounters through travel with the engineered and orchestrated remembrance of mortality and fatality' (2018: 14). The commodification of the macabre in this context adds a new lens with which to view the management of places such as Clifford's Tower in York. Bale demonstrates the relevance of Dark Tourism to this location, and thus also to this project, by stating that such places 'speak to our fascination with the traces of violence and narratives of disappearance, the idea that in this place, on this spot, occurred something horribly medieval' (Bale 2013: 297). As the key site for remembering medieval Jewish history in York, Clifford's Tower has shaped the public's perception of this chapter of history, but it can also be seen as a reflection of what is desired by its visitors.

A clear indication of the trend of Dark Tourism at Clifford's Tower can be seen in how English Heritage has previously presented tourist information at the site. Until recently, directional placards at this site appeared to encourage visitors not only spend to money but also to revel in the gory history of the site by situating signs stating, 'Bloody Massacre' alongside directions to the 'Gift shop' (Narin van Court 2008: 8). The choice and placement of the captions at the site are demonstrative of a public interest in what has become known as 'Horrible Histories', or an overarching preference for the gruesome. The term 'Horrible Histories' originates with the success of a book series aimed at children, with the objective to 'engage and enthuse the reader about the subject while appearing subversive' (De Groot 2008: 39). The combination of 'Horrible Histories' and Dark Tourism is referred to by Stone as a 'Dark Fun Factory' and features on 'the lightest edges of the "dark tourism spectrum"' (Stone 2006: 152).¹⁹ Stone notes that the focus here is on entertainment whilst presenting 'real or fictional death and macabre events' (2006: 152). Scholar of Popular History and Literature, Jerome De Groot, expands Stone's assertion, adding that the focus of 'Horrible Histories' is 'primarily [on] entertainment, with educative purposes' (2008: 39), and asserts that such an approach ultimately suggests, 'that the past as taught is not as interesting as what really happened' (2008: 39). De Groot's work identifies the tensions between education and entertainment, thus presenting some of the issues faced by heritage organisations in the presentation of history to tourists. In this way, a focus on the negative aspects of medieval Jewish history, in addition to the use of Dark Tourism tropes, such as at Clifford's Tower, have limited public access to this area of history. Further, in some respects, representation of medieval Anglo-Jewish history has become less about Jewish memory *per se* and more about creating something that is instead Christian-focused. This is typically realised by centring on the anti-Jewish attitudes and policies of an overtly Christian country; this issue is exemplified in

¹⁹ For other examples of 'Light' Dark Tourism see: Iankova and Powell 2016; VisitYork n.d.; Shennan 2014.

Chapter Six in the context of the 1144 ritual murder accusation against the medieval Jewish community in Norwich that now largely shapes the public recognition of medieval Jewish history in the city. This highlights the need to critique the different approaches and interpretations, of cities and towns across England, toward remembering and commemorating their medieval Jewish communities.

Public History and Heritage

The issue of how history is interpreted at heritage sites has been of increasing attention since the 'heritage boom': the period since the late twentieth century in the UK, Western Europe, and North America when there was a 'sudden, exponential growth in the number of visitors to heritage sites, historic attractions and museums, alongside the rapid expansion of sites being promoted as 'heritage destination' (Harrison 2013: 69-70). As a result, the theory of heritage interpretation became a central theme across a range of disciplines and cultural contexts, and '[n]ational interpretation associations were founded – for example, the UK Association for Heritage Interpretation, the US National Association for Interpretation and the Interpretation Association of Australia' (Staiff 2016: 8). During this period, Freeman Tilden created the 'Six Principles' (2009: 34-35) in order to define and explain the process of explanation which formed the core principles of interpretation and remain foundational to interpreters today (Black 2010: 8). However, there have been some important changes in contemporary approaches towards heritage interpretation, including the transition away from a focus on explanation, towards a focus on '[t]he participatory environment' which has resulted in the creation of 'heritage knowledge formations... as open-ended, works in progress, contested, unfixed and incomplete' (Staiff 2016: 131). French Philosopher Michel Foucault defines representation and interpretation as 'the space opened up by the separation of words and things' (Macleod 2005: 147). Foucault highlights that the role of the visitor, or participant, as a vital component in this process, he states:

[i]t is in vain that we say what we see: what we see never resides in what we say. And it is in vain that we attempt to show, by the use of images, metaphors, or similes, what we are saying; the space where they achieve their splendour is not that deployed by our eyes but the sequential elements of syntax (1970: 9).

The 'heritage boom' was also perceived in a negative light by academics with accusations that the heritage world was attempting to commodify the past (Samuel 1994: 259). Art Historian Robert Hewison coined the term 'heritage industry' in the late 1980s, asserting that 'Instead of manufacturing goods, we are manufacturing heritage, a commodity which nobody seems able to define, but which everyone is eager to sell' (1987: 9). Similarly, Historian David Lowenthal argues that

the heritage world 'reshapes a past made easy to embrace. And just as heritage practitioners take pride in creating artifice, the public enjoys consuming it... Most neither seek historical veracity nor mind its absence' (Lowenthal 1998: 13). In the same context of assessing history versus heritage, Historian Colin Richmond posits similar views about English Heritage, asserting that its approach to history equates to the kiss of death (Richmond 2000: 3). Dobson also has little positive to say about English Heritage, as he argues that whilst the medieval Jewish history of York has 'at last found a place' (2010: 87), it came at a cost; Dobson highlights, that 'the current English Heritage Guide to *Clifford's Tower and the Jews of Medieval York* discusses the massacre in considerable detail but ignores the architectural history of Clifford's Tower almost completely' (2003: 146).

The divisions between history and heritage have, however, been slowly changing, and De Groot's *Consuming History: Historians and Heritage in Contemporary Popular Culture* (2008) has been described as responding 'to recent calls for a more concerted effort on the part of Historians to understand the nature of historical representations in the public domain' (Gwinn 2009: [online]). De Groot offers statistics that demonstrate a recent boom in local history and interest in history, heritage, and particularly 'untold' stories, from a public perspective more generally (2008: 64). The focus on public interaction with history and heritage together provides an additional perspective from which to complete an assessment of how a city and/or organisation approaches its medieval Jewish history. Further, there are an increasing number of examples of these two disciplines having an impact on one another, and also of collaborative partnerships, such as the aforementioned *Winchester Medieval Jewish Trail* project (Welch 2015b) which brought together a Religious Studies and Death Studies scholar, an Archaeologist, and a Historian, with Winchester City Council and members of the contemporary Jewish community.

The work of Elisa Narin van Court provides another example of how academic work can impact upon local heritage. Narin van Court's 2008 article *Invisible in Oxford: the "public face" of medieval Jewish history in modern England*, gives an assessment of the commemorative plaques at a range of medieval Jewish heritage sites across England and has been described by Bale, as both comprehensive and provocative (2013: 298). The most significant outcome of Narin van Court's research is that it directly informed the new signage at Lincoln Cathedral (2013: 298): a plaque acknowledging the ritual murder allegation against the medieval Jewish community of Lincoln in 1255 and the subsequent hanging of eighteen local Jews (Mundill 2010: 87). The original plaque from 1955 read:

By the remains of the shrine of “Little St Hugh”. Trumped up stories of “ritual murders” of Christian boys by Jewish communities were common throughout Europe during the Middle Ages and even much later. These fictions cost many innocent Jews their lives. Lincoln had its own legend, and the alleged victim was buried in the Cathedral in the year 1255. Such stories do not rebound to the credit of Christendom, and so we pray: Lord, forgive what we have done, amend what we are, and direct what we shall be. (Julia and Keld 2006: [online]).

The new plaque erected in 2009, reads:

All too often, in too many places communities identify themselves as who they are not, rather than who they are. It is but a short step from this to distrust, dislike and even to hatred of “the other” – frequently neighbours who happen to be people of different faith or race. Fictional “ritual murder” accusation by Christians against Jews began in England in 12th-Century and then spread to the Continent. In 1255 a Lincoln boy called Hugh was found dead and the city’s long-established Jewish community was accused of murdering him. As a result, 92 Jews were imprisoned in the Tower of London and 18 were hanged for a crime they did not commit. Although Hugh was never canonised the boy was venerated as a saint. Legends and ballads blaming the Jews circulated widely. His tomb in Lincoln Cathedral was a place of pilgrimage for the rest of the 13th-Century but its popularity began to decrease after the Jews were expelled from England in 1290. When the tomb was opened in 1791, the child’s body was found intact, bearing no evidence of the mutilation alleged to have taken place. The tomb chest of Little Hugh’s shrine is to the left of the sign. Above it is a picture of the original appearance as recorded before the partial destruction in the Civil War, from a facsimile of Dugdale’s *Monuments*, 1641. The libel against the Jews is a shameful example of religious and racial hatred, which continuing down through the ages, violently divides many people in the present day. Let us unite here in prayer for an end to bigotry, prejudice and persecution. Peace be with you. Shalom.²⁰

The substantially longer second plaque shows conformity with some of the key principles that inform heritage practice today, as outlined by Tilden in *Interpreting Our Heritage* (2009). For example, the text meets ‘[t]he chief aim of interpretation [which] is not instruction, but provocation’ (Tilden 2009: 18), through emotive language such as ‘shameful’. The effort to emotionally engage with visitors in this way has been termed ‘hot interpretation’ by David Uzzell (1989). Further, by relating the events of 1255 and medieval England ‘religious and racial hatred... through the ages [and] the present day’, the plaque reflects Tilden’s principle that ‘[a]ny interpretation that does not somehow relate what is being displayed or described to something within the personality or experience of the visitor will be

²⁰ Joan Panton, Information Desk Volunteer (2016), Email to Toni Griffiths, 24 October.

sterile' (2009: 18). Conversely, Bale is critical of the 2009 plaque, arguing it 'attests explicitly, to the public and current ownership of the medieval past...' (2013: 298). He also asserts that it 'little considers context, or the medieval victims, and does not mention Judaism and Christianity' (2013: 298). However, despite the inadequacies highlighted by Bale, the plaque remains demonstrative of how academic work can have a direct impact on the local approach to memory and thus provides a model for remembering this aspect of the past, albeit with a need to perhaps reconsider the problematic language demonstrated by Bale.

Alternatively, academic works also impact on the presentation of medieval Anglo-Jewish history by revealing absence. Kushner's *Anglo Jewry Since 1066: Place, Local, Memory, Then and Now* provides an in-depth analysis of Jewish memory in the local context (2009). In the third chapter, Kushner focuses on medieval Jewish memory in Winchester, giving an account of the perceived mythologies, silences, and omissions, and the general reluctance of Winchester, he believes, to confront its Jewish past (2009: 53-120). This thesis discusses the academic history of medieval Jewish Winchester along with the ways in which the city has marginalised its medieval Jewish history in Chapter Four and pinpoints key areas where this aspect of the past could potentially be acknowledged (e.g. in Jewry Street, and in the Great Hall Exhibition). Arguably, what is missing from Kushner's work and from works on the approach to medieval Jewish history more generally, is the perspective of the museums, heritage, and tourist organisations. Ludmilla Jordanova argues for the importance of this under-recognised viewpoint in *History in Practice*, highlighting the 'need to develop coherent positions on [the] relationships between academic history, the media, institutions such as museums, and popular culture' (2000: 149). My article 'The State of Jewish Memory in York and Winchester' (2012) also briefly acknowledges this gap, but there is a need for a more developed assessment of these perspectives, and an in-depth consideration of the key stakeholders of medieval Jewish memory in equal capacity.

The presentation and dissemination of medieval Anglo-Jewish history and memory are influenced by factors that steer the approach of heritage organisations, museums, and tourist offices, and these require more in-depth analysis. Gruber highlights the importance of these issues in *Virtually Jewish: Reinventing Jewish Culture in Europe* (2002), where she demonstrates how Jewish history is 'influenced and conditioned by markets, finances and funding sources, and local politics, as well as by the needs, knowledge, and expectations of widely varied target audiences' (2002:126). These are essential elements to a critique of areas such as heritage sites, museum displays, and the training of tourist guides, and provide a useful broader scope from which to compare the case studies of

medieval Anglo-Jewish memory. The importance of considering the target audience has also been acknowledged by 2008 UK Minister for Culture, David Lammy, during a keynote address to the Museums Association Conference, which demonstrated the wider agenda that museums now have and are expected to address:

Everyone here understands the capacity museums have to contribute to enjoyment, to inspiration, to learning, to research, and scholarship, to understanding, to regeneration, to communication and to building dialogue and tolerance between individuals, communities and nations (Lammy in De Groot 2008: 236).

Kathy Burrell and Panikos Panayi have also developed the issue of target audiences and assert that crucial questions must be asked of Public History and Heritage projects, such as: Who is constructing it? Who is being asked to participate? Who is being asked to collaborate? Why is it being done at all? If community leaders are involved, to what extent can these leaders themselves be considered to be representative of the entire group? (Burrell and Panayi 2006: 11). Such considerations resonate with the decolonialist methodology utilised in this thesis and are particularly relevant to the consideration of the involvement of contemporary Jewish communities in the construction of new and updated heritage projects, as well as in the developments around the discovery of medieval remains that are potentially Jewish.

In recent decades the use of the internet has changed the way the public interacts with heritage and tourism, and there are a variety of online resources in terms of heritage and tourism relating to medieval Jewish history that attest to this (e.g. English Heritage 2016; Winchester City Council 2018a; Yorkwalk 2018a). One of the key attributes of the internet in this context is accessibility. Art Historian Oddbjørn Sørmoen asserts that cultural heritage is inextricably intertwined with the issue of accessibility (2009). Sørmoen suggests that there are two types of accessibility: that it 'can mean physical accessibility [and] accessibility to knowledge and experience' [sic] (2009: 13). Internet sites and webpages are a useful source for determining an insight into the particular approaches taken by different cities towards their medieval Jewish memory, as well as the online resources that they offer to the public. There are also websites that offer access to medieval Anglo-Jewish history on a larger, national and, more recently, continental scale, in the form of JTrails (Roberts n.d. d). The latter is an organisation which works within the UK and Europe 'to promote [Anglo-Jewish heritage] through [their] own programmes and by working with existing Jewish and non-Jewish community, historical and heritage organisations, communities and individuals', with a distinct focus on setting up Jewish heritage trails (Roberts n.d. d: [online]). JTrails also offers a 'Self Study' course on Anglo-Jewish history, as well as online education packs for schools. The website offers an overview of the walking

tours, which are available in their entirety to paying customers. Visitors can also make a financial donation to JTrails online and gain access to a free, downloadable, unpublished book by Roberts (2007); however, it is notable that the text is independently researched by Roberts, with no supporting academic references or bibliography. Overall, the study of JTrails provides an interesting study of in the contrasting approaches to public Anglo-Jewish memory. The resulting critique of this organisation in Chapter Seven produces some important questions relating to the accessibility of medieval Jewish history, and how far the attitudes and actions of contemporary Jewish communities, and/or individuals could be considered by heritage professionals in the public dissemination of Anglo-Jewish history.

CHAPTER THREE: MEDIEVAL JEWISH DEATH

The everyday life of England's medieval Jews is a topic that has remained largely hidden from view, primarily, as has been previously explored in Chapter Two, due to a lack of source material. However, new multi- and inter-disciplinary scholarly approaches have produced valuable insights into this topic, such as *Jews in Medieval Britain: historical, literary, and archaeological perspectives* (Skinner 2003a) and *Christians and Jews in Angevin England: the York massacre of 1190, narratives and contexts* (Rees Jones and Watson 2013). This chapter will contribute to these new explorations by focusing on the topic of death and applying theories and research from other disciplines such as Death Studies, Religious Studies, and Archaeology. The overarching focus on death in this chapter will provide an important addition to the conversation about the life of England's medieval Jews, as death and life are inextricably linked; the connection is especially prominent in a Jewish context, as Rabbi Maurice Lamm asserts, 'if there is no Jewish way of death, what Jewish way of life could there have been?' (2000: xiv).

The following will explore death in the context of traditional Jewish law, highlighting practice and ritual, and considering how this can be applied to, or restricted by, the medieval Anglo-Jewish situation. The theoretical concepts of medieval death will also be discussed, in particular, Ariès' concept of the 'Tame Death' (1981) and Walter's notion of a 'Traditional Death' (1994). Overall, this chapter problematises the notion of a continuum in the Jewish tradition, drawing into focus how medieval Jews would have been forced to adapt Jewish lore/law in the context of death rituals, due to restrictions placed on them by their position as property of the King. Indeed, the Jewish position in England was unique due to the successful establishment of the crown as 'sole protector of its Jewish subjects and the sole judicial arbiter of legal cases in which Jewish and Christians clashed' (Rees Jones 2013: 107). Thus, this chapter will highlight the importance of recognising the adaptability of Jewish communities across time and space. The notion of adaptability has been previously explored by Mundill (2010) and Meyer (2009), however, this has been within the medieval context of moneylending, therefore the approach of this chapter is significant in that it does not focus on commerce, but religion instead, and notably, death. It is important to note, that in suggesting that medieval Jews in England did not conform to a continuum of Jewish religious tradition, this chapter does not argue against a continuum of Jewish identity; this is something that has been identifiable as continuous, as noted in Chapter Two, and is discussed in each of the following chapters in this thesis.

The cemetery has been a central element of Jewish culture across the ages and establishing one is, traditionally, the first priority for any new community (Hillaby and Hillaby 2013: 88); indeed, establishing a cemetery has been described by interdisciplinary Historian Joachim Schlör, as a universal element of communal life, 'established, wherever Jews live' (2007: 2). The cemetery is usually located outside of the community perimeters, as 'dead bodies, hence also graves, are a source of ritual impurity' (Werblowsky and Wigoder 1965: 82). The establishment of a cemetery enables a traditional Jewish community to observe the crucial religious legal requirement to bury the dead. Werblowsky and Wigoder note that the 'only method of disposing of the dead... is by placing the body of the deceased in the earth or in sepulchres [and] to be denied burial is the greatest humiliation which can be inflicted on the deceased' (1965: 76). Rabbi Maurice Lamm reinforces this by noting that in even contemporary Orthodox tradition, 'cremation is never permitted [and] The dead must be interred, bodily, in the earth' (Lamm 2000: 55). However, modern Reformed communities do allow cremation, although, notably, this adaptation does not render the cemetery obsolete, as in most cases 'the ashes [are] buried in a Jewish cemetery' (Kertzer and Hoffman 1996: 258), and typically some earth from Jerusalem is added to the coffin prior to its closure.

The decent disposal of Jewish bodies in accordance with Jewish law, *halakhah*, also requires the timing of the burial to be prompt. This is dictated in *Devarim*, or *Deuteronomy*, where it states '[b]ut you shall not leave his body on the pole overnight. Rather, you shall bury him on that [same] day' (21:23).²¹ This commandment has been interpreted to mean burial must take place within twenty-four hours, or 'without delay' (Lamm 2000: xiv). Lamm notes the purpose of this law is to draw 'a very fine, but clear, line between reverence for the dead and worship of the dead' (2000: xiv). Further, a prompt burial allows the grieving to begin, and allows the bereaved to start 'coming to terms with the loss as soon as possible... [for] only after the funeral can a family proceed with the difficult task of mourning' (Riemer and Nuland 2002: 85). The main exception to this tradition is when death occurs on the Sabbath or another holy day, in which case 'the body [may] remain unburied for longer than twenty-four hours' (Kertzer and Hoffman 1996: 257).

Religious law asserts that prior to burial the body must be washed, or purified, as part of a religious ritual called *tohorah*. This requirement is based on *Kohelet*, or *Ecclesiastes* 5:14, that notes '[a]s he

²¹ The Hebrew reads:

כגלא־תלין נבלתו על־העץ כִּי־קבור תקבֹּרנוּ
 בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא כִּי־קללת אֱלֹהִים תִּלְוֶה וְלֹא תִטְמָא
 אֶת־אֲדָמְתְּךָ אֲשֶׁר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ נָתַן לְךָ נְחֻלָּה. (*Devarim* - Deuteronomy 21:23).

left his mother's womb, naked shall he return to go as he came, and he will carry nothing with his toil, that he will take in his hand'.²² *Tohorah* is performed by a group within the community called the *chevra kaddisha*, or Jewish burial society. Historian Harvey Golderg notes that the tradition is long standing as the 'first known development of a hevra kadisha... took place in Ashkenaz, when one was established in Prague in 1564' (Goldberg 2003: 26). Members of the society are volunteers who:

at all times display proper respect for the deceased [and] will cleanse and prepare his body for burial while reciting the required prayers asking Almighty God for forgiveness for any sins the deceased may have committed, and praying that the All Merciful may guard him and grant him eternal peace (Lamm 2000: 11).

However, unlike other traditions related to Jewish death discussed so far, the *chevra kaddisha* has origins after the chronological boundaries of the medieval Jewish community in England. Although, it is important to note that this does not mean that such an organisation did not exist, albeit informally, and if it did not, then the bodies of the dead would still have been washed out of respect for the dead. Indeed, the *chevra kaddisha* and *tohorah* are today, entwined, as the former facilitates the latter as 'an absolute requirement of Jewish law' (Lamm 2000: 11).

The ritual to cleanse and purify the dead, is part of the process of preparation for burial, and thus is closely linked with the assertion that all burials must be simple, as a way to emphasise the belief that '[n]ot a man's [sic] possessions but his soul is of importance' (Lamm 2000: 11). The requirement for a simple burial ensures an element of equality that 'forbids elaborate funerals' (Kertzer and Hoffman 1996: 257) This approach upholds the belief that all Jews 'are equal in death' (Kertzer and Hoffman 1996: 257), united, 'regardless of what [any individual] has accomplished in life' (Heilman 2001: 70). An ideal, modest Jewish burial would see the body wrapped in a shroud, consisting 'of a simple linen vestment' (Kertzer and Hoffman 1996: 257), and placed in a plain coffin, expected to 'be made of wood, and wooden pegs' (Witty and Witty 2001: 467). Further, caskets are often crafted with holes drilled into the bottom, to allow for quick decay of both the coffin and its occupant. Designing the casket in this way is described by Lamm as a process that is 'quite proper and should be encouraged' (2000: 20). The desire for enhanced decomposition is in order to hasten the body's return to the earth as advocated in the book of *Bereishit* - *Genesis*, 'for dust you are, and to dust you will return' (3: 19).²³

²² The Hebrew reads:

יִדְבָּאֲנִשׁר יִצָּא מִבֶּטֶן אִמּוֹ עָרֹם וְיָשׁוּב לֵלְכֶת
בְּנִשְׁבָּא וּמֵאֲוִמָּה לֹא יֵשָׁא בְּעֵמֶלּוֹ שְׂיִלָּךְ בִּידּוֹ (Kohelet - Ecclesiastes 5:14).

²³ The Hebrew reads:

יִטְבְּזַעַת אֶפְיָךְ תִּנְאֵכַל לֶחֶם עַד שְׂוִבְךָ
אֶל־הָאֲדָמָה כִּי מִמֶּנָּה לָקַחְתָּ כִּי־עָפָר אָתָּה

Jewish tradition dictates that the body must be buried in its entirety, including any blood, limbs, or other pieces that may have become separated from the body; blood is perceived as the life of an individual and thus it is unacceptable for it to remain unburied (Heilman 2001: 68). The assertion by Jewish law that a body be interred in such a way means that practices such as embalming, whereby the organs of a corpse are 'bleached and hardened' in order to preserve the corpse (Sharma 2008: 170), are prohibited; they are seen as a process of excessive handling of the remains, and as mutilation and tampering (Lamm 2000: 17). As Lamm notes, 'Judaism demands respect for the total man [*sic*], his body as well as his soul. The worthiness of the whole of man [*sic*] may not be compromised even in death' (2000: 3).²⁴ Similarly, post-mortem examination, such as autopsy, is also forbidden by Jewish Lore/law, as it requires external inspection, dissection, and also internal examination 'of all major internal organs' (Dolinak, Matshes, Lew 2005: 330). Therefore, the medieval practice of evisceration as a form of body preservation is unlikely, and this will be discussed further below.

The dead must be accompanied at all times until the death ritual process is complete. Historically, the corpse would be watched over by a *shomer* (Lamm 2000: 5). This tradition has continued into the modern day, although it is now 'done mainly out of respect [as] leaving a body alone [is] an embarrassment to the person who has died, akin to advertising that no one cares about him [*sic*]' (Staff n.d.). The term for a Jewish funeral is *leviyas hamayt*, or accompanying the dead (Heilman 2001: 73), and Jewish Studies scholar Samuel Heilman, notes that this 'simply cannot be complete without an audience, without a congregation to mark the end' (2001: 73). This completes a process that begins from the moment of death, whereby 'the deceased may not be left alone' (Lamm 2000: 5). Remaining with the dead throughout each stage of the death ritual process is seen as extremely important, to the point that even the interruption of the study of the Torah may be warranted (Lamm 2000: 51).

The *Kaddish*, or Jewish prayer for the dead, is one of the most important to be recited at the graveside. The prayer does not include references to mourning or the dead, but instead moves the focus of the funeral away from the dead, away from the individual, and instead, reinforces the communal aspect of Judaism, highlighting its continuance even after death. The purpose of the *Kaddish* is to praise God and 'articulate the hope that God's presence will be established more strongly on earth' (Karesh and Hurvitz 2006: 263). Author George Robinson, writes about the

וְאֵל-עֶפְרָיִם יִתְּשׁוּב (Bereishit - Genesis 3: 19).

²⁴ Despite the use of gendered language, Judaism's respect for the body in death relates to mankind.

significance of the prayer across Judaism, noting that it 'should be familiar even to non-observant Jews. Because it is the prayer for mourners in one of its several forms, it is one prayer that almost everyone has heard at some point in their lives' (2016: 33). Thus, in the familiarity of the *Kaddish* within the context of death and ritual, the collective nature of Judaism is clearly evident; the significance of the *Kaddish* within the context of connecting medieval and contemporary Anglo-Jewish communities is discussed in Chapter Five.

Finally, the resting place of the dead is perceived as final and absolute, due to the belief that to disturb a buried corpse which has begun the process of decomposition, is disrespectful to God; Lamm notes, that the 'dead may not be moved from one grave to another, even if the second gravesite is a more respectable one' (Lamm 2000: 69). As with other Jewish traditions concerning death, the reason behind this prohibition originates from the belief that man [*sic*] is made in the image of God. Further, Lamm notes that during the medieval period it was believed that 'after death man [*sic*] stands in judgement before God, and reinterment disturbs that state of judgement [and] removal of the remains to another site is a "mocking of the dead"' (2000: 69).

Overall, traditional Jewish burial practices are highly ritualised and are intrinsically linked with the duty to respect the dead. The requirement for such reverence is rooted in the belief that 'man [*sic*] is created in the image of God, and, although the pulse of life is no more, the human form must be respected for having once embodied the spirit of God and for the character and the personality it housed' (Lamm 2000: 3). Editor of *The Oxford Dictionary of the Jewish Religion* Adele Berlin, states that the 'reverence attached to burial is an outstanding feature of Jewish practice... Ensuring a proper burial is regarded as one of the greatest acts of benevolence' (2011: 153). Therefore, respect for the dead underpins the entire process and treatment of the dead and is fundamental to the Jewish tradition in this context.

Having explored the tradition of Jewish death ritual, it is important to note that Lamm highlights that there have been '[r]adical, unanticipated technological advances have triggered changes both in death and in religious law' (2000: xi). The adaptations to Jewish law, as discussed by Lamm, are not unique as similar actions can be found in medieval Jewish law. Historian Pinchas Roth highlights that in some cases Halakhists eliminated certain practices that were expected to be performed by relatives of the deceased, as prescribed by Jewish law and custom, 'because of the negative reactions they aroused among the Gentiles' (2014: 5). For example, the tradition for Jewish mourners to remove their shoes, 'even if they walk outside their house' (2014: 5) was not observed by Jews in thirteenth

century Germany, as '[if] they walked barefoot, Christians would suspect them of witchcraft' (2014: 5). Thus, the traditional laws and rituals of a traditional Jewish death can be used to explore the medieval Jewish context, alongside the knowledge that there may have been some adaptation in order to account for the circumstances of the time.

As previously discussed in Chapter Two, there are other theoretical approaches that resonate with and can be applied to, the context of medieval Jewish death, such as works by Ariès and Walter. In *The Hour of our Death*, Ariès forms five typologies of death within the confines of set time periods (1981). The first type, described as 'The Tame Death' (1981: 603-605), is relevant to this chapter as it is situated earlier and thus reflects the time period of England's medieval Jews. Further, just as the notion of a traditional Jewish death has routes from Biblical times, and thus elements of ritual and practice are believed to have remained constant over time and space, Ariès asserts that Tame Death has been occurring for hundreds or even thousands of years, as 'the oldest death there is' (1981: 28).

Ariès describes death in the medieval period (Tame Death) as 'close and familiar yet diminished and desensitised' (1981: 28). The normalisation of death in this way, he argues, is achieved through the processes of ritualisation, memory, and the connections with the supernatural (1981). The role of community and religion is central in ensuring that people were 'as familiar with the dead as they were with the idea of their own death' (1981: 25). Therefore, the process of dying was actively participated in by all, not just the individual; this resonates with the tradition of reciting the *Kaddish*, as discussed above. Similarly, in the Jewish tradition, the processes dictated by religious law and ritual prepares the individual and the community for death, equipping them for what is to come; this extends beyond burial and into the days, weeks and years that follow, as the focus shifts from the deceased to the living. Those who are left behind after an individual dies are known as *Aveilim* (mourners), and they too, are carefully prepared and guided through death; for example, by Maimonides' *Hilchot Eivel*, or, *Laws of Mourning*, which gives guidance such as '[o]ne should not cry over the deceased for more than three days and one should not eulogize him for more than seven' (1987: Avel 13: 10).

The Tame Death focuses on the theoretical concept of an ideal, or socio-culturally good death. However, Ariès also highlights the notion of a socio-culturally bad death, as sudden and without warning, in contrast to the death that can be prepared for and therefore tamed. Ariès asserts that unexpected deaths were perceived as:

vile and ugly [in] the Middle Ages [as] the sudden and absurd death, it is also the secret death without witness or ceremony: the death of the traveller on the road, or the man who drowns

in a river, or the stranger whose body is found at the edge of a field, or even a neighbour who is struck down for no reason (1981: 11).

An unexpected death would not have allowed for religious or personal preparation and is described by Ariès, as having 'destroyed the order of the world in which everyone believed; it became the absurd instrument of chance, which was sometimes disguised as the wrath of God' (1981: 10). The impact of sudden death on a Christian community is described by sociologists William Wood and John B. Williamson, as having led to the potential exclusion from Christian burial (2003: 16). However, this area of research is complex; for example, the Christian cemetery at St Andrew's Priory, Fishergate in York, has evidence of burials where death was caused by bladed trauma (McComish 2000: 30), thus suggesting Christian burial took place despite a potentially unexpected death. It is important to note that the Fishergate wound could have been from a battle wound, and battle was expected, thus burial was permitted rather than a non-expected wounding such as a murder. The complexities highlighted here are indicative of the need for further research on what counted as a socio-culturally good or bad death. The occurrence of an unexpected death in the medieval Jewish context is evident in several discoveries from the cemetery at York, known as Jewbury; Archaeologist Jane McComish (nee Lilley) highlights that one male aged 40+ years had 'a number of deep blade wounds to the legs [and] had clearly died as a result of the attack' (McComish 2000: 29); and one female 'aged 15-20 years of age ... had received five separate blows to the head from a sharp, heavy-bladed weapon, that was clearly fatal' (McComish 2000: 29). However, the circumstances behind such deaths and the opportunity for religious preparation is unknown, due to a lack of source material.

Walter asserts that responses to death in England can be categorised into three ideal typologies: Traditional, Modern, and Neo-modern (1994: 47). As the historicity of Walter's typologies is informed by Ariès (1981), the criteria for a Traditional Death resonates with the Tame Death theory explained above. As with the Tame Death, and also with the traditional Jewish approach to death, the fundamental elements of the Traditional Death acknowledges the centrality of both religion and the community, through the authority of God and the importance of prayer and religious ritual (1994: 48). Therefore, these criteria form the backbone of what constitutes a theoretically socio-culturally good death, as they enable individuals to deal with death in a way that is conscious and/or prepared for. This is particularly relevant to the medieval case study, as Walter highlights that the Traditional 'ideal' death is situated in a period when the occurrence of death is both 'fast and frequent' (1994: 48). However, as with Ariès, Walter's work is also limited in its applicability to the Jewish context, as it does not account for the presence of alternative Jewish approaches to death, as dictated by historical

context and differing interpretations. Further, Walter's typologies apply specifically to Christian England, thus, as noted in Chapter Two, adaptation is required when considering it in a Jewish context. It is noteworthy that when considering Walter's typologies of death, although the traditions of Jewish Reform communities are rooted in Jewish lore/law, it would not be accurate to consider their approach within Walter's Traditional typology (see Figure 1). Instead, the criteria of the Neo-Modern typology are a better fit in that their approach to death is both traditional yet also adaptable, as they now accept the option of cremation (Kertzer and Hoffman 1996: 258). In addition, the Modern typology is also applicable to Jewish death rituals in general as the *Chevra Kadisha* deal with the dead. In Walter's Modern typology paid professionals deal with the body, whereas the *Chevra Kadisha* is a voluntary group of lay people from the community (Heilman 2001: 31). Further, there would have been different approaches to death ritual within the various medieval Jewish communities, such as enforced adaptations to burial practice, as will be discussed further below.

The most effective use of the traditional Jewish approach to death, and ideal typologies of death as demonstrated by Ariès, and Walter, is to utilise each as a building block from which to construct new hypotheses about medieval Jewish death. In order to do this, however, it is essential to acknowledge the limitations of this approach. As has been noted above, these theoretical approaches do not account for adapted interpretations of death rituals. Further, the risk of not accounting for an alternative approach in the context of medieval Jewish death due to diasporic living contributes to the treatment of Jewish history as a homogenous experience. This tendency enforces continuities in Jewish religious observance across time and space and omits tensions between historical situations and the traditions. The significance of alternative approaches and adaptation is highlighted by Skinner, who notes that '[s]o intimately has Jewish social life been bound up with Judaism that many ... authors have cited the timelessness of Jewish law and ritual as the reason for the apparent lack of interest of Jews in their own history for some fifteen centuries after Josephus' (first century CE)' (2003b: 226). Skinner also notes how this limitation has since been challenged, as historians have widened 'the scope of their inquiries beyond Judaism to Jewish culture, enabling the uniqueness of the latter to be fruitfully integrated into 'mainstream' history without losing its own special character' (2003b: 246). The following will now assess death in the medieval Anglo-Jewish context using the theories of traditional and ideal death as a foundation.

The first medieval Jewish cemetery in England, known as Cripplegate, was in London and was outside of the Roman city wall (Keene 1985a: 1034). The location of the cemetery, separate from where the Jews lived, conforms with the Jewish traditional requirement to maintain ritual purity by burying the

dead no closer than fifty cubits, or twenty-five to thirty metres, to the nearest residence (Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah*, Hilkot Shekhenim x.3). However, it is unlikely that this was the reason for its location, rather it would have been adherence to the dominant Christian tradition to separate socially excluded groups whereby '[b]urial in unconsecrated spaces beyond the churchyard, often beyond city walls, was reserved for unbaptised infants, suicide and plague victims, criminals, and heretics' (Halvorson 2016:47). The separation of Jewish cemeteries continued throughout their history in medieval England; an 1177 edict by Henry II, permitted Jews to have burial grounds outside of London however, it was stipulated that these must be outside of the city walls (Roger of Howden 1853: 457).

Records from 1290, when the entire Jewish population was expelled from the country, provide evidence for eight cemeteries at (alphabetically): Bristol, Lincoln, London, Northampton, Norwich, Oxford, Winchester, York (Hillaby and Hillaby 2013: 88-91). Hillaby and Hillaby highlight that there may have also been burial sites at Canterbury, Hereford, Stamford, and Worcester (2013: 88-91). Hillaby and Hillaby also highlight that there were seventeen recognised communities in 1218 (2013: 114); thus, several Jewish communities lived without immediate access to a local Jewish cemetery. It is important to note, however, that there were a number of other Jewish cemeteries established in the period after 1218, and possibly some others undocumented (Hillaby and Hillaby 2013: 115). Thus, there may have existed a number of medieval Anglo-Jewish cemeteries that scholars are unaware of, although these would likely have been small and connected with the several rural Jewish communities that Mundill argues existed (2010: 18). The confusion over the number of cemeteries, though, highlights the need for further work on medieval Anglo-Jewish death.

A crucial aspect of medieval Anglo-Jewish death that relates directly to the location of cemeteries is that prior to the 1177 granting of additional cemetery space any Jews residing outside London would have been required to make a substantial journey with a corpse in order to bury their dead in consecrated ground; this would also be the case for Jews without access to local cemeteries post-1177. Thus, in order to inter the Jewish dead in a Jewish cemetery, several days travel would be necessary. In 1738, one of the earliest students of Anglo-Jewish history, D'Blossiers Tovey, describes medieval Jews as 'being oblig'd to carry their dead Bodies, from every Part of the Kingdom to London' (1738: 8). For example, the journey from York, where there was a pre-1177 Jewish community, to London could have taken between nine to sixteen days (calculated below), potentially travelling with the constant threat of violence given the frequent bouts of anti-Semitism recorded in historic documents noted in Chapter Two.

Alternative solutions to travelling with the dead to the nearest Jewish cemetery, or to London prior to 1177, such as abandoning the dead entirely, can be discounted for several reasons. As mentioned above, Jewish law asserts that denying an individual a proper burial would be seen as inflicting ‘the greatest humiliation’ (Werblowsky and Wigoder 1965: 76). Anthropologist Henry Abramovitch, notes that in Jewish law, such action would be considered the epitome of a socio-culturally bad death, in that:

[a]n unburied corpse is the archetypal source of ritual uncleanness (*tumah*), and passes on its taint not only through direct contact but even to those who only come within the shadow of its enclosure... Even after the corpse is pronounced pure (*tahor*), any who come into contact with it will still be polluted (2009:134).

Further, in ‘medieval England it was very rare for a person not to be buried’ (Daniell 2005: 110), thus by abandoning a corpse, Jews would have broken religious law, *halakhah*, and gone against the wider customs of the host community.

Another option is briefly discussed by Dobson in the context of York’s medieval Jewish community, who notes that rather than taking the dead to London, ‘it is more likely that Jews... would have been buried informally, possibly on the Jewbury site, before formal recognition in 1177’ (pers. Comm. Dobson cited by Rees Jones 1994: 305). In 1230, John le Romeyn, Subdean of York Minster Cathedral, sold an area of land to the Jewish community as an extension to their cemetery, which was described in the record of sale as ‘the ancient cemetery’ (Dobson 2010: 30).²⁵ Prior to 1177 and during the twelfth century, the Jewish community was not as closely regulated and supervised by the Crown, as it would become later. In the later period, the main regulations imposed on the Jews came from the 1194 Chapters of the Jewry (Cambridge University Library, MS. Mm.I.27, fols. 104). These chapters were designed with the purpose of ‘bringing justice (and collecting royal revenue) subsequent to the outbreak of violence against Jews in 1190 as Richard was crowned and set forth on crusade’ (Mell 2017: 314). This means that informal burial prior to 1194 could have been an option, especially for poorer Jews, who had less financial significance to the king and were thus less closely regulated.

The possibility of local burials would have become less likely in the thirteenth century when the lives of Jews were increasingly controlled by the Crown; this was particularly true for wealthier Jews, whose financial dealings and status was seen as an extension of the King’s own. Dobson notes that possession of the Jews by the King in this way meant that their activities were ‘exceptionally closely

²⁵ Translated from the Latin York Minster, Vicars Choral Deeds, no. 22, which reads, ‘*antiquum cimiterium Iuderorum*’ (Dobson 2010: 30-31).

regulated by the Crown and their Gentile neighbours while alive [and] may have been subjected to careful supervision by Christians after their decease' (Dobson 2010: 90). In 1253 the mandate of the Jews was issued, stating 'from the hour of birth every Jew, whether male or female, [should] serve us in some way' (Rigg 1902: xlix). The mandate ordered all Jews to live in the same place as one another, within the confines of *archa* towns. The mandate aimed to restrict and regulate the Jewish communities, however, it was not completely effective and was repeatedly reissued; for example the Statute of the Jewry in 1275 stated that 'all Jews shall dwell in the King's own cities and boroughs' (Mundill 1998: 291-93; Great Britain 1810-1828: 221a).²⁶ There were also Jews who remained living outside of these areas and usually paid the Crown for permission to do so, as with the Jews living in Basingstoke, Bottisham, and Holme (Mundill 2010: 180). Mundill also notes that a Jew in Essex, 'was arrested for having dwelt there without a license' (2010: 180). Thus, in such times, Jews lived under increasing scrutiny, meaning that local burials would have been more likely noticed by non-Jewish neighbours, therefore as Mundill suggests, rural residing Jews would have most likely travelled to make 'use [of] the burial grounds and synagogues of the larger communities for burials or high festivals' (1998: 22).

Given that the only way to adhere to the law of the land prior to 1177 would have been to travel with the Jewish dead to London, and that post 1177, any community without a local burial ground would have been also forced to travel with the corpse to an authorised place of burial, there would have had to be adaptations to the traditions of Jewish religious law regarding burial; assuming compliance with the regulations set by Royal authority was the norm. As mentioned above, *halakha* stipulates that bodies should be buried within twenty-four hours and any adaptation to this would have to ensure that the highest respect continued to be afforded to the Jewish dead, by honouring them with a proper burial observant of Jewish law and tradition.

Material culture evidences that medieval Anglo-Jewry adhered to traditions regarding respectful treatment of the dead. In Winchester, expulsion returns noted a stone, known as the laving stone, on which the Jews would have washed bodies prior to burial as part of the ritual act of purification, *tohorah* (Carpenter Turner 1954: 18). Further, the latest interpretations of a medieval Jewish site at Jacobs Well in Bristol, supports the notion that it was a *bet tohorah*, where water would have been collected with which to wash the body, before burial took place in the cemetery nearby (Hillaby and Sermon 2007: 97-105); this is explored further in Chapter Seven. Further, archaeological evidence

²⁶ Translated from the Anglo-French, '*tus les Geus seient menauns en les citez e en les burgs proper Les Roy*' (Great Britain 1810-1828: 221a).

suggests that the medieval Jewish cemetery in York was shared with the communities of Lincoln, as the two communities purchased a plot of land in 1230 to extend the already established cemetery (Lilley *et al* 1994: 305). It must also be noted that such an arrangement would have been mutually beneficial. Schur notes that on the continent, medieval Ashkenazi Jews paid 'a higher fee for burial of non-residents at the regional Jewish cemetery' (2008: 72). Although, this is not to suggest that this would have been an arrangement everyone was happy about; Mundill highlights the case of Canterbury Jews who 'had an interest in deciding which Jews should be admitted to their community... evidenced by a unique surviving English example of the *Herem ha yishub*, or prohibition of settlement' from 1266 (1998: 34). Whilst there is 'no evidence of this prohibition having actually been used in Canterbury' (Mundill 1998: 35), its creation adequately illustrates the importance of remembering that England's medieval Jewry was made up of multiple communities and not one harmonious and homogenous group.

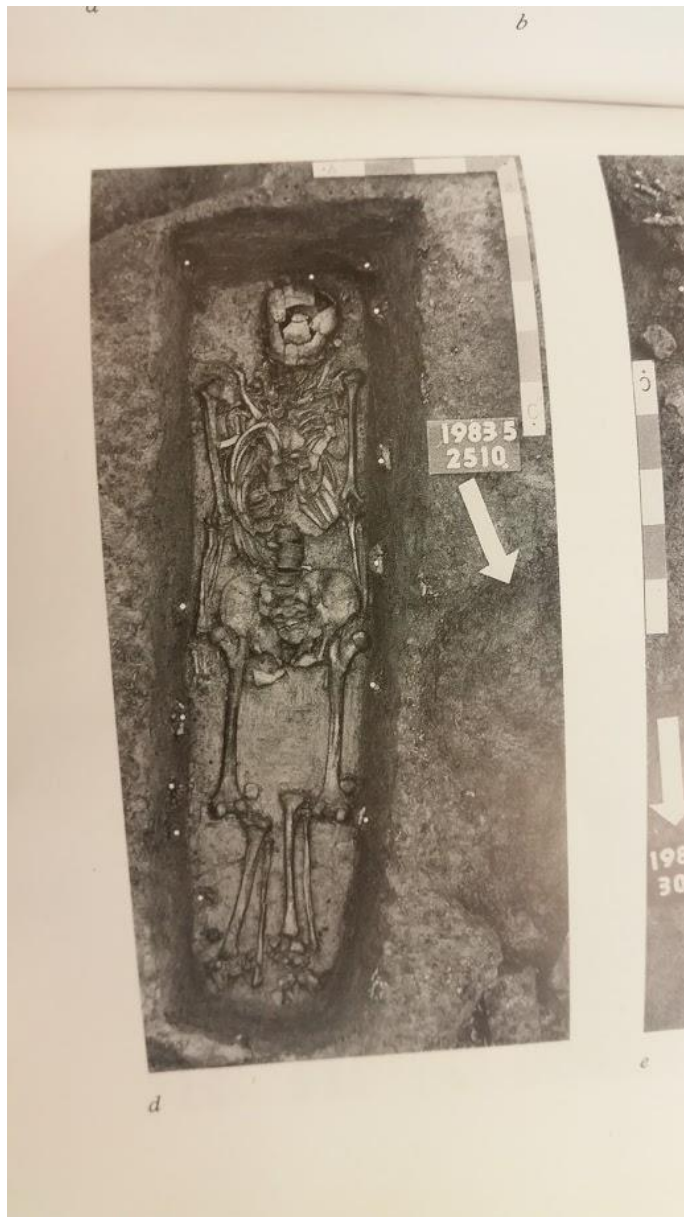
The use of one cemetery by more than one medieval Jewish community is supported by archaeological evidence from the excavated medieval Jewish cemetery at York. Archaeologist Don Brothwell, suggests that a number of graves indicate the presence of Jews from outside of the immediate community as:

a number of [the burials] displayed a 'tumbled bone' appearance. This occurred although the graves were normal and well cut and in some instances, coffin nails demonstrated that the bodies were properly enclosed at burial (1987: 25).

The description of this tumbled bone appearance refers to a disarticulated burial, implying disordering of the bones by human or natural causes (Sprague 2005: 80). In this case, the 'ribs and vertebrae [were] scattered well out of alignment [and in] some cases the pelvis, skull and other bones [were] dislodged from their normal positions in the grave' (1987: 25; see Figure 2). Brothwell concludes that this would have most likely occurred as the result of partial decomposition of the body, coupled with the process of transportation from Lincoln to York (1987: 25).

Other unexpected discoveries at the York cemetery site include several burials which appear to have been bound. Archaeologist Jane McComish theorises that these bodies 'could have been brought from Lincoln, since this may represent an attempt to keep the body from becoming disarticulated' in transit (Lilley *et al* 1994: 393). However, this hypothesis is problematic for two reasons. Firstly, shroud burials within the Jewish tradition are usual and Biblically grounded; the Hebrew Bible

Figure 2: Disarticulated skeleton at Jewbury Cemetery (Lilley *et al* 1994: 417)



notes in II Samuel 3: 31 that 'David said to all the people who were with him, "Rend your clothes and gird yourselves with sackcloth..."'²⁷, and the Christian Bible refers back to this custom in *John* 19: 40: 'Taking Jesus' body, the two of them wrapped it, with the spices, in strips of linen. This was in accordance with Jewish burial customs' (New International Version). Secondly, the bound burials were found 'scattered randomly throughout the cemetery' (Lilley 1994: 393), which contrasts with the usual Jewish tradition of systematic and deliberately arranged cemeteries. Therefore, contra to McComish, bound burials in York are unlikely to represent Jews who have travelled from outside of the local community. The tradition of an orderly cemetery means it is likely that bodies would have been grouped together and such arrangements can be seen in both York and Winchester where burials were organised.

In York, burials appeared to be methodical as archaeological reports highlight that there was, '[s]ome clustering of burials by sex... and the absence of children was suggestive that the area reserved for them had not been dug' (Daniell 1998: 203). Further, McComish notes that:

[o]nly 12% of the graves on Jewbury were either intercut or overlain, but damage to the bones within the earlier grave had occurred in a mere 1.7% of burials [despite a] lack of space [and] a more intensive use of the land available than had originally been planned for (2000: 23).

Similarly, during excavations of the medieval Jewish cemetery at Winchester, where '[t]here was hardly any intercutting of graves' and the Western edge appeared 'to have been mainly... for adolescents to older children... with adults in the 3rd collection to the west' (Winchester Museums Service 2016: 219). Interestingly this organised approach was uniquely Jewish in the context of medieval England, where, in Christian cemeteries, intercutting and 'disturbance of earlier burials was often the norm' (McComish 2000: 23; Hadley 2001: 18).

Whilst, evidence suggests that the bound burials in York can be ruled out as bodies which had been transported from communities, there are other indicators to suggest the presence of bodies from outside of the community. In addition to the tumbled bone appearance burials identified by Brothwell above, McComish highlights that there was an area in the York cemetery, in the north-eastern portion, 'that had characteristics unusual for the site as a whole' owing to the fact that 'all but one of the burials [were] associated with iron coffin fittings' (1994: 394). Unlike the bound burials, these unusual coffins were organised in one section of the cemetery, consistent with Jewish tradition to

²⁷ The Hebrew reads:

לֹאִי־אִמָּר דָּוִד אֶל־יֹאָב וְאֶל־כָּל־הָעָם אֲשֶׁר־אִתּוֹ קִרְעוּ בְּגָדֵיכֶם וְחַגְרוּ שָׁקִים וְסִפְדוּ לִפְנֵי אֲבִנֵי יְהוֹמָלָה דָּוִד הִלָּךְ אַחֲרֵי הַמָּטָה (II Shmuel - Samuel 3: 31).

arrange burials systematically. In addition, the coffins with metal fittings were made of a more substantial material than the others, as they were constructed using 'oak [whereas] the majority of burials with coffin stains but without fittings were of Scots pine' (Lilley 1994: 393). The main differences between oak and pine are that the former is of higher quality, stronger, and is more expensive (Mabelle 2009). Further, whilst oak is heavier it is notably harder wearing and also more resistant to water.²⁸ Therefore, McComish suggests that the selection of oak for a limited selection of coffins could have been due to the requirement of 'transporting bodies over long distances' (1994: 393).

In contrast to the usual Jewish tradition of basic coffins, including the use of wooden pegs as discussed above, the use of iron nails was common in the medieval Jewish context; evidence of this practice has been found in Barcelona in Spain, Ennezat in France, and in York and Winchester in England (McComish 2000: 26). In Winchester, a total of one hundred-and-two graves were excavated from the medieval Jewish cemetery and sixty-nine of these burials had iron nails, including male and female graves, ranging from neonates to adults.²⁹ The use of nails in York was also frequent, as 'virtually all of the burials were associated' with this type of fixing (McComish 2000: 25). Therefore, it is evident that the traditional custom of keeping Jewish coffins as simple as possible, was not one practised uniformly by all medieval Jews.

As well as iron nails, excavations of medieval Anglo-Jewish cemeteries have also revealed several burials with iron coffin fittings. In York, there were twenty examples of additional metal work such as hinges and corner plates (McComish 2000: 26), and in Winchester, there were six.³⁰ The discovery of iron coffin fittings both at the excavations at York (Lilley *et al* 1994: 394) and at Winchester (Hinton 2003: 102) contribute to the hypothesis that some medieval Jews had to travel with their dead to the burial site. As with the oak coffins, the burials at York with additional fittings were 'largely clustered in the same area of the site' (McComish 2000: 26); crucially, McComish notes that 'if the burials with coffin fittings are interpreted as being from Lincoln, it is possible to suggest that the Lincoln coffins were of oak, while those from York were of Scots pine' (2000: 26). In Winchester, the presence of different construction materials for coffins is less obvious as three burials contained only traces of wood.³¹ However, there was some clustering of burials with iron fittings, similar to York, yet on a much smaller scale. All of the burials with fittings were discovered at the Mews Lane excavations and

²⁸ Bradley Street, Tree Surgeon (2018), Conversation with Toni Griffiths, 18 April.

²⁹ Helen Rees, (2016) Email to Christina Welch, 21 April.

³⁰ Helen Rees, (2016) Email to Christina Welch, 21 April.

³¹ Helen Rees, (2016) Email to Christina Welch, 21 April.

indicate two groupings: the first consists of graves numbered 1, 20, and 23; and the second consists of graves numbered 45, 47, and 48.³² The organisation of burials with extra fittings, unlike the bound burials discussed above, conforms to the methodical approach of the medieval Jewish cemetery and in this way, it is also consistent with the Jewish tradition for systematically arranging the dead.

As with the iron nails, the use of iron coffin fittings is not consistent with traditional Jewish burial practice which encourages simplicity as an indication of the Jewish belief that in death all are equal. Therefore, it can be reasonably suggested that the reason behind the decision to use such fittings was out of necessity, as with the adaptation of the law to bury within twenty-four hours. The additional fixings would increase the structural integrity of the coffin, thereby also increasing the chance that it would stay sealed during the transportation process. Travelling with a corpse during the medieval period would have 'been quite formidable [and would] not... be undertaken quickly [or] easily' (Brothwell 1987: 23). Historical Geographers Ellen Potter and Max Satchell highlight the difficulties of travelling at such a time when, 'dirt roads were the norm [and at] particular times of year, an unlucky combination of geology, soils, rainfall, and drainage could make sections of road virtually impassable' (2017: [online]). Thus, a well enforced, sturdy, tightly-sealed coffin, would have ensured that the casket remained intact during an arduous journey along bumpy roads; Jewish law asserts that the integrity of the body should be 'carefully guarded' as a solid coffin would help with this requirement (Milgram 2009: 230).

The challenging conditions of medieval roads and, in many cases, considerable journey times to the nearest Jewish cemetery, would have caused other complications for the Jews travelling with their dead, namely the decomposition of the body that was being transported. Taking the journey from York to London as an example, the shortest route can be calculated at 197 miles, using the same method as Julie Crockford in her research on the royal itineraries of King John, Henry III, and Edward I (2011: 63-66). Crockford utilises Google Maps online software to calculate the distance by road, between point A and point B, justifying the use of modern tools applied to a medieval context on the basis that '[m]any of the best roads of the medieval period were the old Roman roads, many of which have been incorporated into today's 'A' roads' (2011: 64). Further, Crockford notes that the 'path and direction of many roads involved in the shortest journeys in the [royal] itineraries have not changed significantly since the thirteenth century – although they have been improved' (2011: 63). There are, however, some limitations to applying Crockford's process, in the medieval Jewish context of travelling with the dead, as the former focuses on royal itineraries, whilst the latter may not have

³² Helen Rees, (2016) Email to Christina Welch, 21 April.

taken the same routes or had access to the same roads. Nonetheless, Crockford's calculations/methods represent best-case travel times, which in turn enable an informed consideration of what the implications of a long journey with a corpse would be, and this will be discussed further below. Further, it is noteworthy that where possible, Jews would have wanted to take the shortest route possible considering their cargo. Bartlet notes that 'there is evidence of Jews being transported over long distances for burial, reflected in the pontage charged for carrying a Jewish corpse over bridges' (Bartlet 2003: 125); other evidence for the use of bridges by Jews can be found in 1279 when a special custom was imposed upon 'any Jew or Jewess crossing Huntington Bridge... the crossing point over the river Ouse for the main overland route between York, Lincoln and London' (Meyer 2009: 167).

In order to consider the York to London example in more detail, it is necessary to explore the amount of time the journey may have taken. Crockford calculates that 'the carts... of the [royal] baggage train', which 'travelled-at-most-at about two or three miles per hour', were able to cover a distance of 'between twelve to twenty-two miles per day' (2011: 78). However, Historian Hannah Meyer suggests that for traders travelling with their cargo to market, a 'reasonable day's journey consists of twenty miles' (2009: 153). Thus, using the calculation above of 197 miles, combined with the coverable distance when travelling with cargo, as suggested by Crockford and Meyer, the Jewish journey from York to London with a coffin amounts to approximately nine to sixteen days. During this time, the corpse would have undergone several stages of decomposition including skin slippage, loss of hair and nails, bloating, release of gasses, and release of liquefied internal organs (Clark, Worrell, and Pless 1997: 162). The distance and time required to travel between York and London, coupled with the condition of the roads and state of decomposition of the corpse, highlights not only the complexities of travelling with the dead, but also demonstrates further, the necessity of a tightly sealed casket with iron fittings, and possibly harder wearing wood, in order to contain the contents inside.

The iron fittings, and more dense construction materials for some medieval Anglo-Jewish burials could also be representative of other challenges endured as a result of a combination of travelling with a decomposing corpse, namely medieval dietary customs. Welch, highlights that the natural process of decomposition 'can mean a corpse produces flatulence, belches, moans, gurgles, squeaks, defecates, and/or muscle twitches or spasms' (Forthcoming: 13-14). Such processes are exacerbated when there are high levels of alcohol in the blood of the deceased, and in the medieval period it was common for urban-dwellers to consume up to two pints, per day, of small beer and ale as a dietary

staple due to the poor quality of water and the high cost of wine (Martin 2001: 18-21).³³ Welch notes that, although:

the average alcohol content in such beverages was approximately only 1.2%... people also regularly consumed stronger drinks such as cider, wine and mead and thus alcohol in the stomach of the deceased would typically have been high (Forthcoming: 33).

Many Jewish rituals traditionally include blessings over, and/or partaking of wine, such as; the weekly *Kiddush* or prayer of sanctification at the beginning of Shabbat; the marriage ceremony; the *Bris*, or circumcision; the Passover *Seder* (Rose 2011: 150).

Historian Susan Rose notes that access to wine for Jews of the medieval period, 'might not seem to present difficulties since [it] was widely traded' (2011: 150). Indeed, Mundill highlights a trade agreement between a Jew known as Master Elias and Aaron fil Vives, who worked together to commission Arnold Peter of Gascony 'for seven tons of good wine made according the Jewish rite' (1994: 170), noting that this 'may well have been for personal consumption or for that of the London Jewish community (1994: 179). Also, Hillaby and Hillaby highlight examples of wealthy Jews trading in wine during the thirteenth century and note that it was also 'available to the less affluent' (Hillaby and Hillaby 2013: 403). Indeed, the centrality of wine to Jewish ritual implies that the wealthy would ensure the poorer members of the community would have access to it for these purposes as a *mitzvot*, or moral duty; evidence of such charitable actions can be found in Mundill's account of 'Master Elias [who] was a lender to the rich and a patron to the poorer members of his own community' (1994: 173). However, the use and obtaining of wine did not come without complication. Rose points out that from a religious perspective, there were 'a complex series of regulations... around the supply of wine to ensure that any that was to be used by Jews fulfilled certain criteria' (2011: 150), for example 'no wine should be drunk by Jews in any circumstances which could not be vouched for as coming from a permissible source' (2011: 15).

Having established that Jews in medieval England would have regularly been drinking alcohol (possibly) to amounts that people of today may understand as excessive but water in urban areas was often highly polluted with human and animal waste and the run off from industries such as tanning (Welch 2016a: 405), it is important to further address the impact this would have had on the dead, and in turn the impact it would have had on a corpse travelling to a Jewish cemetery. Welch highlights that the normal process of bodily decomposition enhances the fermentation of alcohol in an

³³ One exception could have been rural communities where there would have likely been access to fresh water from wells. Evidence for rural Jewish communities is explored in Mundill (2010).

individual's stomach (2016: 404-5). In addition to this process, there are also gases already being produced within the corpse; the natural decomposition of bodies produces quantities of hydrogen sulphide, sulphur dioxide, methane, and ammonia (Quigley 1996: 226). The combination of these elements with the fermented alcohol, can under certain circumstances such as warm weather, create enormous pressure inside the body and inside the casket, thus creating the risk of the body and the casket, rupturing (e.g. Anon 1890);³⁴ the effects of this could have been alleviated through the use of iron coffin fittings and bindings on the coffin, although there would have remained the issue of secreted bodily fluids if the casket was not completely sealed.

During decomposition, a body undergoes a process of 'putrefaction, in which the tissues become moist and gas-ridden, and eventually liquefy down to the skeleton' (Saukko and Knight 2015: 67), with the 'stench of human rot... said to be unparalleled and unforgettable' (Quigley 1996: 226). This was one of the issues that the chaperones of Jewish corpses may have endured during their journey to the nearest cemetery. Evidence for this can be found in the case of Deus-eum-crescat or Dieulecresse, son of Moses (of Wallingford), whose body was carried to London for burial, after his death some time before 1190. Records describe how 'all the Dogs of the City follow[ed] the detestable Corps... yelping in a most frightful manner' (Tovey 1738: 9), highlighting the offensive smell of decomposition. Interestingly Dieulecresse is recorded as having committed suicide (Honeybourne 1964:153) which was/is a sin in both Christian and Jewish traditions, and therefore the term detestable could refer to the sinful manner of death, by self-murder.

Due to the complexities of travelling with a putrefying corpse, coupled with the potential risk of rupturing caskets, it is worth considering if medieval Jews may have eviscerated their dead. Evisceration was a form of embalming. By removing the viscera, the soft internal organs that decompose soonest after death, the rotting of the rest of the body is slowed (Welch Forthcoming: 8). There is no archaeological evidence for this, however, it was a method used by Gentiles, as demonstrated by Historian Rosemary Horrox who highlights the use of disembowelment and defleshing of corpses before transportation (1999: 95-7). Archaeologist Eileen Murphy also notes, that:

[o]riginally, evisceration (also called exenteration) of the internal organs was practiced in Central Europe only when corpses needed to be transported. Gradually, in Medieval France,

³⁴ Wendy Birch (2018), Forensic Anatomist at University College London, Conversation with Christina Welch, 28 May.

England and Scotland, it also became a practice independent from the necessity to transport a corpse (2008: 171).

As has been discussed above, invasive practices, such as evisceration, embalming, and autopsy are not permitted by Jewish law (Milgram 2009: 230). However, an extract from the responsum of Rashba in medieval Spain (1235-1301), shows an example of permission being granted for the internal organs to be removed from a corpse so that it could be preserved long enough to be transferred to the ancestral burial place. It reads:

A person requested at the time of his death that when he dies his body be carried to the burial place of his ancestors. On the day of his demise the sons were unable to transfer the body to the chosen locality and temporarily buried the father in the town where he died. Later, they wished to transfer the body to the place where the ancestors of the father were buried. When it became evident that it would not be possible due to the decomposition of the flesh and the stench of the body, the sons wanted to know whether it is permissible to cover up the body with lime in order to expedite the process of decay. Is it considered disrespectful or not, etc.? Furthermore, the embalmers were accustomed to cut the body open to remove internal organs without causing any grief or treating the dead disrespectfully [?] It is then permissible to exhume the body and bury it alongside the father's ancestors (Schur 2008: 168).³⁵

This type of procedure would have required significant medical skills, something the Jewish community was known for, as highlighted by Bartlet who states that the 'latest medical techniques [were] communicated from the continent to Jewish doctors and midwives' (2003: 122). Further, Dobson notes the 'high reputation of thirteenth-century Jews as surgeons, physici, and medical practitioners' (2010: 156), such as the aforementioned Master Elias de Menaham, who was requested personally, for his skills as a physician, by the Count of Flanders (Mundill 2010: 110). There is also evidence from the medieval Jewish cemetery at York of an individual who had had surgery to the skull and/or brain, which was 'carried out cleanly and with great skill' (McComish 2000: 30).

As noted, traditional Jewish law states that the '[d]isturbance of the inner organs... is strictly prohibited as a desecration of the image of God' (Lamm 2000: 17-18). However, Lamm notes that there are contemporary instances where allowances are made for the process of embalming so long

³⁵ The original Hebrew reads:

ראובן צוה בשעת פטירתו שישאו אותו לקבור אל מקום קבורת אבותיו וביום שמת נאנסו ולא יכלו לשאת אותו מיד והכניסוהו לשעה בקבר במקום פטירתו ועכשיו רצו בניו להוליכו אצל קבורת אבותיו ומפני שא"א לישא אותו מחמת הפסד הבשר וריחו נודף עד שיתעכל הבשר אם מותר ליתן על כל גופו סיד למגר העיכול אי איכא בזיון בכך או לא וכל ההונגים קורעים אותו ומוציאין מעיו ואין כאן משום צער ולא משום בזיון ולפנותו ממקומו כדי לקבורו במקום שצוה או במקום קבורת אבותיו מותר. *Shut ha-Rashba*.

(Schur 2008: 168).

as the organs are not disturbed (2000: 18). This further suggests that Jewish Law is adaptable in times when it is deemed necessary. Additionally, although the parameters discussed by Lamm would not have allowed for evisceration, the act of embalming through the use of herbs and oils may have been used instead in order to delay the process of decomposition for as long as possible, to allow for the journey to the Jewish cemetery. Lamm highlights that adaptations to Jewish law in the context of embalming can be made in the following circumstances:

1. When a lengthy delay in the funeral service becomes unavoidable.
2. When burial is to take place overseas.
3. When governmental authority demands it (2000: 18).

In a medieval Anglo-Jewish context, all these criteria would have been fulfilled in the need to transport a body to a Jewish cemetery.

The pre-1177 edict that restricted Jews to having only one cemetery potentially forced Jewish communities to adapt religious laws in order to honour their dead with a proper burial. Adaptation in other contexts has been explored by archaeologist David Hinton who questions how far 'Jews adapted or were forced to adapt to local circumstances in other matters, such as food taboos' (2003: 103). Archaeological excavations in London between 1985 and 1999 revealed some evidence relevant to Hinton's query, with 'hints that the Jewish occupants... were not strictly complying with dietary laws since pork, eel, and oyster remains were found in the rear yard of this [possibly medieval Jewish] property' (Bowsher, Dyson, Holder, Howell 2007: 338); Jewish dietary law, *kashrut*, dictates that Jews must only eat animals that have 'cloven hooves and chews its cud' (Vayikra- Leviticus 11: 13; Devarim - Deuteronomy 14: 6), and seafood must have fins and scales (Vayikra - Leviticus 11: 9; Devarim - Deuteronomy 14: 9). The types of food found in the London excavation were common for the time; similar remnants of sea food have also been discovered in Southampton (Platt 1994: 187). Hinton notes that in the context of food, eating kosher food in medieval England would have been expensive (2003: 104), thus poorer Jews, in particular, would have had easier access to pork, particularly in towns, where pigs were frequently kept due to their adaptability to urban environments (Woolgar, Serjeanston, and Waldron 2006: 79). Indeed, pork was readily available in the urban context, as up until the later medieval period when the status of pork declined, there is evidence of its high pork consumption across much of society (Woolgar, *et al* 2006: 80-81). Similarly, to the use of iron coffin fittings and burying past twenty-four hours, the consumption of non-kosher food could arguably have been born out of necessity and adds further evidence to medieval Anglo-Jews adapting their laws/lores in a diasporic situation.

It should be noted, however, the identity of the London house noted above was not indisputably that of a Jewish family (Bowsher *et al* 2007: 338). But, alternative evidence found in London may be indicative of a process of acculturation amongst the Jewish community, whereby a group or individual adapts or borrows from another culture, in this case, the wider Christian population. Historian Suzanne Bartlet argues that this process had gone one step further and that some medieval Anglo-Jews had assimilated with the Christian community, and thus had begun to resemble the host community in areas such as dress, she states:

There were signs that the English community was assimilating at a different rate and in differing ways from those on the continent... assimilation of dress had been almost total... the wearing of *pilum*, the pointed straw hat worn by continental Jews... was no longer in use (2003: 115).

In the context of death, Archaeologist Roberta Gilchrist offers a similar argument of Jewish communities becoming more aligned with their surrounding culture. During the excavations at Mews Lane, Winchester, a number of grave goods were discovered; this was unexpected as the Jewish tradition advocates a simple burial, so as to promote equality at the point of death, keep costs to a minimum, and ensure that the dead are not worshiped (Lamm 2000: 21). Archaeological reports note the 'deliberate placement [of an object] near the top left side of the infant's head' (Gilchrist 2008: 136-7; Winchester Museums Service 2016: 220). The object referred to is a small fossil stone, or sea urchin, described by Gilchrist as one of two examples, reported from later medieval burials in Britain, both from infant graves; the second example comes from a twelfth century grave at the parish church of Wharram Percy, North Yorkshire. Gilchrist highlights the Winchester case as 'significant... as part of an ancient and widespread tradition of collecting fossilised sea urchins for apotropaic use' (2008: 137). This assertion argues that not only were the Jews of Winchester reflecting wider traditions of using grave goods, but more significantly, implementing medieval burial rites to do with charms, something Gilchrist argues, 'the church was tolerant of as magic intended to harness the power of nature...was God's creation' (2008: 214), unless deemed demonic or superstitious. There is evidence, although not from the medieval period, of charms being used by Jews in relation to children (Morgan 2013: [online]). However, the fact that there was only one such discovery makes the sea urchin an anomaly, problematising Gilchrist's assertions, especially as Dobson notes that in York there was a 'complete absence of grave goods' (2010: 90). It should be noted that in addition to the sea urchin, there was one other discovery at Winchester: a long iron pin 'at the right side of the neck' in Grave 23 (Winchester Museums Service 2016: 220). The pin has not been considered as grave goods here, as Gilchrist excludes such items from consideration elsewhere, due to their probable purpose as shroud

fasteners (Gilchrist 2008: 210) but this find would then suggest not a shroud burial but a clothes burial which is again untypical.

Acculturation and assimilation suggest that discrepancies in lived Jewish tradition against traditional lore/law were something that happened naturally over time. Indeed, it is unlikely that such things were forced as there were distinct efforts, in the thirteenth century at least, to identify the Jews as separate from the wider Christian population; for example, the yellow cloth badge in the shape of the tablets of stone and the ban on Jews lending money to Christians, as outlined in the 1275 Statute of the Jewry (BL, MS Harley 79, fols. 12-13). Similarly, in the context of death, the reason Jews were travelling in the first instance would have been due to restrictions placed on them by the authority of the host community. The same power dynamic is suggested by Dobson, as the cause for discrepancies in Jewish burial tradition at York, where burials were found aligned 'north-east to south-west, rather than from east to west' (2010: 156); traditionally Jewish graves are expected to face west to east (Heilman 2001: 96).

Dobson asserts that 'the burial of the dead at Jewbury was itself likely to have been conducted under the rigorous scrutiny of royal officials and Christian neighbours' and continues to suggest this may have been the reason the graves were aligned in contrast to the expected Jewish tradition (Dobson 2010: 156). Further, McComish notes that the issue of orientation suggests accordance with local custom and that 'burials were simply aligned in relation to the property boundaries of the cemetery' (2000: 24). Hinton disagrees, stating the alignment 'may have been so that the bodies could rise to face an entrance gate' (2003: 102). Whichever the reason, the burials at both Winchester and London were west to east, as would be expected, highlighting that the Jewish community of York differed in this area of death ritual to their contemporaries. However, it could also be that Dobson's theory is more credible, due to discrepancies identified in other areas of Hinton's assessment of alignment; Hinton states that in York 'the graves were aligned approximately south to south-east/north to north-east, rather than west-east' (2003: 102), whilst Lilley *et al.* states 'the Jewbury burials were aligned roughly north-east/south-west' (1994: 370). The discrepancy between 'south-east' and 'south-west' suggests a typographical error by Hinton as his alignment would require the corpse to be buried bent at an angle. Further discrepancies can be found in Hinton's assertion that graves in Germany at Worms, were the same as Jewbury, i.e. north-east/south-west (Hinton 2003: 102), whereas Lilley *et al.* state that the bodies at Worms 'were aligned north-south' (1994: 370). As mentioned in Chapter Two, Hinton's work brings into focus that many aspects of medieval Jewish death and ritual practice are currently under-researched topics within the subject of medieval Jewish history.

In addition to the challenges of travelling along medieval roads with a decomposing corpse, medieval Jews would have also incurred other issues during their journey. As has been demonstrated, many journeys would have taken several days at least and whilst there is no evidence to determine where these travellers would have stayed, it can be noted that it is unlikely they would have left the body alone overnight due to the religious obligation to watch over the dead until burial. It is possible that these Jews would have stayed with the rural communities if indeed they existed, and if they did not, then any Gentile host would have had to have been accepting of a decomposing corpse on their premises. One thing that can be said for sure, is that the journey would have been dangerous, as noted by royal statutes of the time, which dictate requirements for the width of roads and of the land to be cleared on either side with specific interests of safety from outlaws (Hindle 1982: 6). Protection from outlaws indicates an element of risk for Jews and Gentiles alike, however, Jews were particularly vulnerable to attack, especially so if they were travelling with cargo (Roth 1948: 60). Cases of Jews being attacked whilst travelling, include examples such as: 1256, when 'a Jew from York was assaulted and killed by a gang as he attempted to cross the Ouse Bridge at night' (Dobson 2010: 57); and, specifically to travelling with the dead, 1281, when 'three Jews were conducting the corpse of Josce of Guildford [and] were assaulted by a group of Christians who overturned the funeral cart and left the corpse lying in the road' (Mundill 2010: 121).

Another variable of travelling to consider is the weather: whilst the best-case scenario for travelling with a corpse would be colder weather in that it would slow the rate of decomposition, this could have resulted in more difficulties in travelling, particularly if it was a wet winter. The challenges faced by Jews travelling from York to London in the winter specifically can be determined from the fact that 'during the harshest winter months the kings geographically restricted their travel to the south-east [due to the] free-draining chalk and... relatively dry climate' (Potter and Satchell 2017: [online]). Such challenges would have been especially prevalent to Jews and their cargo in instances where they were not permitted to travel on the King's roads. Conversely, whilst warmer weather would have ensured better road surfaces, it is notable that these conditions would have accelerated the rate of decomposition (Iserson 2001: 384). The issues of travelling in warm weather with a corpse are also made evident in the example of William the Conqueror. William's body was transported approximately 70 miles from Rouen to Caen in September 1087 and consequently ruptured at his funeral (Bates 2016: 490).

Transporting the dead for burial was expensive, as has been demonstrated in this chapter thus far; the cost of stronger coffin materials, metal fittings, toll charges for bridge crossings, cemetery

payments to the host community, and overnight accommodation. In the context of credit networks and travelling undertaken by Jewish moneylenders, Meyer highlights that although it was 'common for members of the Jewish community to own [the] means for long distance travel' (2009: 166), for example horses and carts, long journeys would have still been expensive, both in terms of time and resources (2009: 153). In the context of death, there were also additional costs such as the fees charged by the 'person who oversaw the burial process' (Schur 2008: 72), and the craftsmanship required to construct a coffin; carpenters were highly skilled and charged accordingly (Dyer 1989: 226). The use of coffins in medieval England amongst the wider population was not as common as typically communities or parishes:

would have owned a coffin that was loaned for the purpose of temporarily housing the corpse of a community member. The coffin would have been used to transport the body to the grave; it would then be returned to the church or parish hall and the corpse interred in its shroud (Howarth and Leaman 2002: 103).

The use of reusable coffins by Christians of the time is also noted by Christopher Daniell (1998: 43), and Gilchrist highlights that '[t]he great majority of people were buried in a simple earth-cut grave, with the cadaver wrapped in a shroud' (2008: 200).

In conclusion, it is clear that there are differences between how medieval Jews buried their dead and what is considered traditional burial practice. This chapter has demonstrated that whilst there were some consistencies in medieval death, such as community involvement, and centrality of religion, there were also adaptations made to Jewish Law, such as the use of metal coffin fixings, and burying outside of the twenty-four-hour period. Largely, these alterations were made based on necessity, in that the law of the land was prevalent and had to be adhered to. Most importantly, such changes did not alter from the fundamental principles of Jewish law that is to maintain utmost respect the dead. Crucially this chapter has brought into focus multiple approaches towards Jewish death, but also has introduced the topic of both rich and poor medieval Jews, who would have all had to have adapted religious law in order to abide by host law; although not necessarily in the same way. Whilst the rich would have had the resources to travel with, or transport, their dead, it is more likely that the poor would have buried locally and informally, at least in the eleventh and twelfth centuries when they were not so regulated by the crown whose interest lay in the Jewish financiers. By rejecting the assumption of a homogenous Jewish experience and opening new avenues of enquiry it has been demonstrated that there were alternative approaches in the medieval Jewish approach to death and thus also to life, as with acquiring and consuming food. There is further scope to extend this research into alternative approaches to living a Jewish life in medieval England, as well as into modes of

transportation for the dead, for example by water, based on the access to English waterways obtained by many Jewish businesspeople (Romain 2013). The topic of medieval Jewish death and religious ritual is not without its challenges. However, through comparing and contrasting archaeological reports, as well as exploring key areas such as weather, travel times and routes, the complexities faced by medieval Jews as they journeyed with their dead and conducted their day to day lives are exposed.

CHAPTER FOUR: WINCHESTER

As the ancient capital of England, Winchester has an abundance of historical narratives from the ninth century King, Alfred the Great, to the nineteenth century novelist Jane Austin, as well as incorporating a legacy of military and architectural history (Winchester City Council 2018b). Such traditional historical narratives are characteristic of the types of history that have defined the identity of many towns across England (Gruber 2002: 134) and have shaped tourism in cities such as Winchester. With a high level of visitor choice in the city, it is perhaps unsurprising that histories such as Winchester's Anglo-Jewish history have, until recently, been absent. The representation of Winchester's medieval Anglo-Jewish community is complicated by the fact that the city's museum, and other permanent displays detailing historical narratives, are primarily archaeological in content. There have been few finds that provide tangible evidence for the presence of medieval Jews in Winchester; indeed, this lack of evidence echoes England more generally. Thus, due to the under-representation of the city's medieval Jewry in the archaeological collections, this area of history is not mentioned in either the City Museum or in what is left of Winchester Castle: The Great Hall. Further, although the Cathedral pre-dates an Anglo-Jewish presence, there is no reference to the clerical relationship with the city's Jews in its guidebooks. As a result, Winchester has become an example of how medieval Jewish history can be omitted from local narratives (Kushner 2009; Griffiths 2012). However, in 2015 the *Medieval Jewish Trail* was launched, the first of its kind in the city, and is currently the only public facing recognition of the city's medieval Jewish past (Welch 2015b).

This chapter will explore the historical marginalisation and contemporary recognition of local medieval Jewish history in Winchester in an academic and public context, using the *Medieval Jewish Trail* as a pivotal point in a 'before' and 'after' approach. The roles of different stakeholders in the representation of Winchester's medieval Jewry will be explored, including Winchester City Council, Hampshire County Council, the University of Winchester, Winchester Cathedral, and members of the local contemporary Jewish community. Crucially, the following will assess how far the *Medieval Jewish Trail* can be considered as representative of a permanent change of approach in Winchester towards remembering the city's medieval Jewish past. This will include consideration of the latest proposals for planned public facing projects, as well as areas of possible future research, such as in Winchester Cathedral where there is the scope to include the paintings of Jews in the Holy Sepulchre Chapel within their guided tours. Finally, this chapter will explore the impact of both academic work and archaeological discoveries on the public representation of medieval Jewish history in the city, with a distinct focus on the discovery of alleged medieval Jewish human remains at the site of Winchester's

medieval Jewish cemetery. Finally, the following will assess the impact of these events on the modern memory of Winchester's medieval Jewish history.

Academic work on the medieval Jewish community of Winchester has been sporadic and it has often featured as part of texts focused on more generalised histories of the city. Unlike places such as York (Dobson 1974) and Norwich (Lipman 1967), there remains no specially-focused publication on Winchester's Anglo-Jewish community. The earliest and most extensive treatment of Winchester Jewry was written by Barbara Carpenter Turner, Winchester's first archivist and a key figure in post-World War II heritage in the city (1954; 1970). Carpenter Turner's research was published in a series of articles and within a general volume on Hampshire: *A History of Hampshire* (1963). The second publication to discuss Winchester's medieval Jews was Derek Keene's *Survey of Medieval Winchester* (1985a), which included the city's Anglo-Jews as part of a section on 'others' alongside aliens and women. Keene's work was significant as it utilised both historical and archaeological evidence to explore Winchester's Jewry within the wider context of the city's internal politics and became the main point of reference for information on the medieval Jewish community as a whole (1985a: 384-387). Keene also highlighted that there is 'a mass of information on the business and family connections of the Winchester Jews [which provides] fertile ground for future study' (1985a: 384). This call for further research has not been fulfilled, although in 1996 Nicholas Vincent brought the Winchester Jewry, and the English Jewish community more generally, into focus in his work on the relations of Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester 1205-38.

As demonstrated in Chapter Two, in recent years there has been an increase in scholarly attention on medieval Jewish history, and this has been partly reflected in work on Winchester; in 2003 the first text which exclusively focused on an area of medieval Jewish Winchester was published, focusing on Licoricia of Winchester (Bartlet 2003). This was followed by Kushner's work (2009) which deals extensively with the topic of how the medieval Jewish community is remembered in Winchester. This, in turn, prompted my article 'The State of Jewish Memory in York and Winchester' (2012), which inspired the self-guided leaflet for the city council's tourist offerings, *Medieval Jewish Trail*, written by Welch (2015b). Despite the recent publications raising of the profile of the city's medieval Jews (Bartlet and Kushner's books are available in the public library, and the leaflet can be picked up in the railway station and at the tourist information office), the community has not been included in historical narratives of Winchester made available elsewhere in the city, such as in The Great Hall.

The Great Hall was originally built by William the Conqueror in 1067 and is all that now remains of Winchester Castle. Within the castle were eight or nine towers, including one, in the southern section of the compound, known as The Jews' Tower (see Figure 3). The role of the tower in the context of local medieval Jewish history is both multi-faceted and significant, as Kushner notes, it was 'an integral part of everyday Jewish life' (2009: 101). In 1251, reference is made 'to the door of the Jews' tower' (CLR III: 369),³⁶ and in 1249, the Sheriff of Hampshire was ordered 'to furnish the Jews' tower there with a watch-tower and leaden roof... and make a fireplace therein' (CLR III: 235-6).³⁷ The latter reference indicates a degree of comfort afforded to the Jews who stayed there, representative of the tower's role as a place of refuge, such as in 1265 when only those who managed to reach the safety of the castle survived the attacks of Simon de Montfort, 6th Earl of Leicester, and his men (Hillaby and Hillaby 2013: 275); de Montfort, a crusader, had led a baronial revolt against King Henry III the previous year, and in 1231 had banished Jews from the city of Leicester, and as such was known for his stance against the country's Jews. However, the tower was also a place of imprisonment. In 1211, a Jew known as Isaac the chirographer was incarcerated there for not paying the full amount of a tax, known as the Bristol tallage, imposed on all Jews by King John in 1210 (PpR 13 John: 105). Isaac and his wife (and business partner) Chera, were ordered to pay a sum of 5100 marks, which was the largest amount for any individual family in the country. This amount demonstrates the significance, wealth, and thus importance of Jews such as Isaac and Chera at this time (Bartlet 2009: 28-29). Notably, the couple was separated with Isaac incarcerated in Winchester Castle, whilst Chera was imprisoned in Bristol (Hillaby and Hillaby 2013: 389).

Physical evidence of the community's imprisonment in Winchester Castle was in existence until 1618, in the form of an inscription on the wall of the tower left by a Jew named Asher or Sweteman, son of the prominent female business woman, Licoricia of Winchester, who will be further discussed below. The caption recorded the imprisonment of the entire Jewish community to ensure they paid a large tallage imposed by King Edward I in 1287; it read 'Day six of Emor were imprisoned all the Jews of the land of the isle, in year 47 of the 6th thousand, I Asher inscribed this' (Hillaby and Sermon 2007: 105).³⁸ Emor relates to a particular part of the Torah that was read on that Sabbath eve, constituting

³⁶ No Latin version available online.

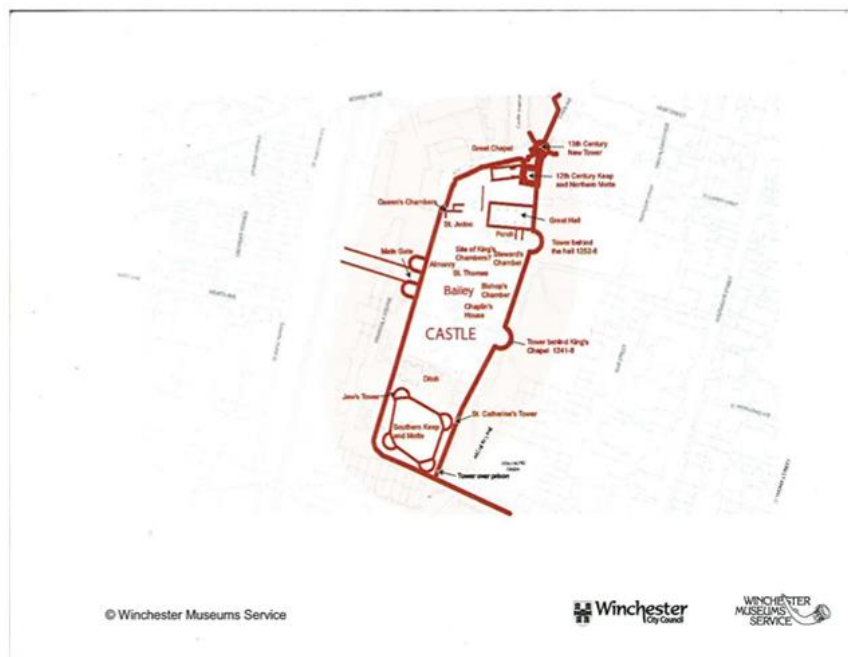
³⁷ No Latin version available online.

³⁸ The original Hebrew reads:

יום ו' אמר היו
תפסים כל יהודי
ארץ האי שנ(ת)
מז לפ(רט) לאלף
ששי אני אשר

חקקתי (Hillaby and Sermon 2007: 105).

Figure 3: The Jews' Tower at Winchester Castle (Biddle and Clayre 1983: 15).



Vayikra, or Leviticus 21:1-24:23, and means the inscription was written on Friday 2 May 1287. The wholesale incarceration of the country's Jewry is noted by Mundill as representative of 'the last decade of Edward's reign [which] meant confinement or worse' for most Jews (2003: 61) and can be understood in retrospect as a potent signal that the King was readying for mass expulsion.

In addition to the role of the tower as a prison and a place of protection for Winchester's Jewish community, Historian Zefira Rokeah, has suggested that it had a third purpose, as the place where 'the local *archa* was kept, and where local cases involving Jews were heard' (2000: 77-78). As mentioned in Chapter Three, an *archa*, or *archae* plural, was an 'official chest, provided with three locks and seals, in which a counterpart of all deeds and contracts involving Jews was to be deposited in order to preserve the records' (Jewish Genealogical Society 2017: [online]). Winchester was one of the first towns in England to have an *archa* and one remained in the city until the Jews were expelled from the country in 1290; at its height, there were twenty-six towns and cities in England with *archa* (Mundill 2003: 148-149).

Although the Jews' Tower in Winchester Castle was significant for its role as a prison, refuge, and home to the *archa*, no tangible evidence remains, thus representing its history in a public display would be problematic. The limitation of this lack of physical evidence is compounded further by the fact that the exact location of the tower is undeterminable, due to a lack of source material, meaning that only best estimates of its exact location are possible. It is notable that a map estimating the tower's location was published in Hampshire County Council's 1983 edition of *Winchester Castle and the Great Hall*, alongside a brief reference to the relation between royal authority and the medieval Jewish community as expressed through the castle (Biddle and Clayre 1983: 15). However, in 2000, the names of the castle towers were omitted from the updated text, *The Castle Winchester: Great Hall and Round Table* and as a result references to the Jews' Tower is now restricted to academic texts (e.g. Rokeah 2000: 77-78; Mundill 2003: 61; Kushner 2009: 100-2). The updated text incorporated new information about two towers that had been excavated by the Winchester Museums Service in the 1990s, yet the reason for omission of the tower names is unclear, and in discussion with Beatrice Clayre, co-author of the undated guide to the castle, is no longer remembered.³⁹ However, Clayre has stated that a forthcoming publication, *Winchester Castle: Fortress, Palace and Garrison*, will include mention of the Jews' Tower.⁴⁰

³⁹ Beatrice Clayre, Historian (2017), Email to Toni Griffiths, 7 April.

⁴⁰ Beatrice Clayre (2017), Email to Toni Griffiths, 10 August; As of May 2018, the publication is still listed as forthcoming, see: <http://winchesterstudies.org.uk/volumes/ws-6-i-winchester-castle-fortress-palace-and-garrison/>.

The site of the Great Hall is owned and maintained by Hampshire County Council and was first opened to the public as a major tourist attraction in the 1970s. A permanent panel exhibition on the history of the castle and the site was opened in 1998 (Biddle and Clayre 2000: 28-36). The panel exhibition was designed to show how the site evolved from a medieval fortress and a royal palace into a military, legal and administrative centre for the city.⁴¹ The display covers ten centuries of complex history within a limited space and each panel consists of text and an image. Thus, with an emphasis on the visual, and specifically pictorial sources, Winchester's medieval Jewry is prevented from being included in the displays; due to the lack of tangible evidence relating to medieval Jewish Winchester mentioned above. Further, Winchester Archivist, Gill Rushton, highlights that there were also strict boundaries enforced by the design of the panel exhibition; notably that the text on each board should be both short and relevant to the image that it accompanied.⁴² Rushton notes that the panel exhibition was 'not designed to be a comprehensive history or a 'book on the wall'', and the content of the display was restricted by the perception 'that most people do not welcome long captions in exhibitions'.⁴³

At the time of the production of the Great Hall's panel exhibition, the main work on Winchester's medieval Jewry was Derek Keene's multi-volume *Survey of Medieval Winchester* (1985a). Keene's work is significant in terms of historical research on the local medieval Jewish community and demonstrates the challenge of highlighting this against a backdrop of a wider history of the city that spans many centuries. There are roughly ten pages that feature the Jews out of a total close to fifteen hundred, over two volumes. As Keene's work focuses exclusively on the medieval period, the size of the tome provides some insight into how small a section on local Jewish history might be, in any publication or display on Winchester's history more generally.

Kushner (2009: 101), as a chronicler of Jewish history, identifies prominent gaps in the panel exhibition at the Great Hall. He argues that despite the limitations and restrictions faced by curators during the design of the panel exhibition, there are many sections in the current sixty-five panel exhibition that could have incorporated Winchester's Jewry into its text (2009: 101). One example concerns the previously mentioned siege of Winchester by Simon de Montfort. Kushner notes, that the siege had 'disastrous results on the Jewish community' and as such could easily have been included in the text on the panel (2009: 101), which reads:

⁴¹ Louise Payne, Communications Officer at Hampshire County Council (2014), Email to Danny Habel, 18 March.

⁴² Gill Rushton, Winchester Archivist (2010), Email to Toni Griffiths, 28 July.

⁴³ Gill Rushton (2010), Email to Toni Griffiths, 28 July.

immense strengthening of the fortifications was a visible reinforcement of royal authority and enabled the Castle to resist siege by the rebellious barons under Simon de Montfort in 1265.⁴⁴

Whilst they may not satisfy Kushner's concerns about the omission of medieval Jewish history at the Great Hall, there are further pressures and restrictions when producing a successful exhibition at the Great Hall that can be identified. Primarily the role of the site is to showcase a historic location; the Winchester tourism website, operated by the City Council, opens with the description 'The Great Hall, "one of the finest surviving aisled halls of the 13th century", [it] contains the greatest symbol of medieval mythology, King Arthur's Round Table, and is all that now remains of Winchester Castle' (Winchester City Council 2018c: [online]). Museum Consultant, Paulette McManus argues that, in a heritage context, the focus on the site itself should be carefully considered when planning additional exhibitions. McManus states that 'while an exhibition can easily be an attraction in its own right, visitors to heritage sites have most often come to see the site itself, and do not wish to spend 30 minutes of what may only be an hours' visiting an exhibition' (2009: 159).

The role of the visitor has become increasingly prominent in recent years for the Great Hall, particularly in terms of generating revenue to maintain the site and securing its long-term future. Cuts in government funding have led to the introduction of a public entrance charge at the Great Hall which was introduced from 1st July 2017 and is the first time visitors have paid for entry to this historic site (Carr 2017). Thus, custodians of the site are required to be sensitive to the expectations of the public. To support the assertion noted above by McManus about visitor experience is the result of two visitor surveys conducted by Hampshire County Council, in advance of implementing the entrance fee. Feedback given from customers in the survey on how much they would be prepared to pay was used to reinforce the adopted pricing structure.⁴⁵ Further, the results were used to help determine the impact of visitor satisfaction on the presented history. Visitor satisfaction is a significant factor across the heritage market. As Claus Leggewie and Erik Meyer note:

Historical preservation was once viewed as a genuine public duty, but since the 1990s, in the face of dwindling public funding and the global accessibility of historical interpretations, it has been increasingly influenced by the market and thus by public and private stakeholders competing globally for financial support and large audiences (2004 in Frank 2016: 3).

⁴⁴ The Great Hall, Winchester (2017), The Siege of Winchester by Simon de Montfort, 20 August.

⁴⁵ Charmaine Constable, Freedom of Information Officer at Hampshire County Council (2017), Letter to Toni Griffiths, 6 September.

The overall challenge therefore of remembering Winchester's Jewry in the Great Hall is primarily due to the lack of tangible evidence, specifically pictorial sources that could be presented on an exhibition panel.

As a way to overcome the omission of medieval Jewish history at the Great Hall, a temporary exhibition highlighting the 1265 de Montfort massacre, and noting the intimate connection between prominent members of the medieval Jewish community and the King, could plug the gap in the short-term. Temporary exhibits of this kind have previously been used for such a purpose, including the 'Lord Lieutenant's Millennium Exhibition' which mentioned the Jewish community as 'significant'.⁴⁶ However, there are clear limitations to this in terms of remembering Winchester's Jewish community as the long-term incorporation of Winchester's medieval Jews into the public history of the Great Hall would require a complete re-evaluation of the current approach. In reality, this is highly unlikely as due to current economic uncertainties, there has been an increase in museum closures (Kendall Adams 2016), and 'public spending and funding for culture [is] decreasing in order to reduce national deficits' (Sayer 2015:199).

There is another area in the city where medieval Jewish history could feature: the Winchester City Museum. Since 2014, the museum has been operated and funded by Hampshire Cultural Trust, an independent charity that took the place of previous custodians, Winchester City Council. Yet as with the Great Hall, the City Museum has a distinct focus on physical, and/or visible evidence; until the end of 2017 this focus was evident in the description of the purpose of the museum which was to:

tell the story of Winchester's past from the Iron Age to the present. Highlights include Roman mosaics, exquisite Anglo-Saxon jewellery, models of the Anglo-Saxon and medieval city, items owned by Jane Austen and reconstructed Victorian/Edwardian High Street shops.⁴⁷

Notably, from 2018 the museum has updated its website, and a similar description suggests there has been a shift from a focus on archaeology, towards one that is more socio-historical, albeit with a strong archaeological theme. The updated description of the museum highlights that visitors can '[b]ecome an amateur archaeologist and handle real artefacts', but also acknowledges a broader focus on telling:

the story England's ancient capital, the seat of Alfred the Great. From its origins as an Iron Age trading centre to Anglo-Saxon glory, the last journey of Jane Austen to the hunt for King Alfred's remains, explore the sights and sounds of Winchester past and present in the museum's three galleries (Hampshire Cultural Trust 2018: [online]).

⁴⁶ Louise Payne (2014), Email to Danny Habel, 18 March.

⁴⁷ This quotation was taken from the 2017 version of the City Museum website; however, it has since been updated.

The focus on storytelling and the 'hunt for King Alfred's remains' (Hampshire Cultural Trust 2018: [online]), represents a partial development in the representation of local history by Winchester City Museum, that reflects wider changes in museology whereby 'the eighteenth-century conception of the museum premised upon a collection of physical objects, with the core functions of collecting, conserving, exhibiting, and interpreting' (Carter and Orange 2012: 113) is being challenged. However, there remains a strong archaeologically/object focus within the museum, whereby due to limited tangible evidence relating to Winchester's Jewry, the city's medieval Jewish community is underrepresentation in the museum's collections, and thus in its displays.⁴⁸

However, in a separate collection held by the Hampshire Archive, run by Hampshire County Council, there is a single artefact relating to the medieval Jews of Winchester in the form of a lead coin/token with Hebrew inscription (see Figure 4). The token is significant in that it is the only piece of archaeological evidence to have been discovered relating to Winchester's medieval Jewry, beyond the cemetery excavations in 1995, discussed below. Further, Historian Martin Biddle notes that it is 'possibly the only one of its kind to have been found in England securely dated before c.1250' (2012: 700). The reason that the token is currently in storage and not on public display is twofold: firstly, it is limited physically in that it is no larger than a thumbnail and in poor condition; and secondly, in order to create a public facing display there would need to be funding resources to do so. It is important to note that in 2017, preliminary conversations were held between Welch and Hampshire Cultural Trust, about the possibility of creating a display featuring the token at Winchester City Museum,⁴⁹ however whilst a collaboration with the Hampshire Archive was possible, funding was an issue. Although having such a project would have been momentous in the history of representing the city's medieval Jewish community, significant funding cuts in early 2018 have put the project on hold (Seymour 2018).

In its current state as a stored artefact, the Jewish token complicates the assessment of local approaches in Winchester towards the memory of its medieval Jews, in the context of what Aleida Assmann has termed 'cultural memory' (2006: 220). This term combines the concepts of remembering and forgetting and inserts a third structural element of storage, with reference to 'the cultural function of storing extensive information in libraries, museums, and archives which far exceeds the capacities of human memories' (2006: 220). In the application of Assmann's theory, as

⁴⁸ Graham Scobie, Historic Information Officer at Winchester City Council (2010), Email to Toni Griffiths, 29 July; Toni Griffiths (2017), Visit to the City Museum, 15 June: confirmed that there is no acknowledgement of medieval Jewish history in the museum through displays, guides, or supplementary literature.

⁴⁹ Christina Welch (2015), Conversation with Toni Griffiths, 28 July.

Figure 4: Medieval Jewish token, Winchester, (Winchester Excavations Committee n.d.: [online]).



the only artefact relating to Winchester's medieval Jewish history, the token's place in storage categorises it as 'neither actively remembered nor totally forgotten, because [it] remain[s] materially accessible for possible use' (2006: 220). However, as it is largely only accessible to specialists at the discretion of Head Archivists, it is not available to the public in its physical form, thus it can be further sub-categorised, within cultural memory as a form of 'archival memory' (Assmann 2006: 221). This approach to memory clearly restricts how medieval Jewish history is remembered in the public domain, however, Assmann highlights that:

Things may recede into the background and fade out of common interest and attention; others may be recovered from the periphery and move into the centre of social interest (2006: 221).

Indeed, such transitions have been demonstrated in Winchester when in 2015, a visual representation of the token was made publicly accessible through the publication of the *Medieval Jewish Trail*, where it was given a prominent place on the front cover (discussed further below). Further, the 2017 conversations between Welch and Hampshire Cultural Trust, discussed above, suggest that there may be the potential of a public display in the future. Through the application of Assmann's theory, these developments represent the beginnings of a gradual transformation of approaches to medieval Jewish memory in Winchester in this context, from 'archival' to 'active' (2006: 221). In turn, this demonstrates the complexities of cultural memory in Winchester and in its 'capacity for ongoing changes, innovations, transformations, and reconfigurations' (2006: 221).

Winchester Cathedral is another site in Winchester where there is currently no recognition of medieval Jewish history, but with the potential to do so in the future. The Cathedral has a potent connection to the city's medieval heritage, largely through the Christian Church's anti-Semitic narrative that was at its most vehement in the medieval period (Ruether 1996). However, there is also material evidence in the form of wall paintings in the Holy Sepulchre Chapel of the Cathedral that contensciously suggests a possible tolerance of Jews dating to this time. Despite the contested nature of the images, their presence provides an interesting platform from which medieval Jewish history in Winchester could be discussed. The images in the chapel depict a fresco of Jesus' entombment after his crucifixion and feature a number of Jews in a sensitive manner; a man washing Jesus' legs, wearing a Jewish hat, likely to be Joseph of Aramathea; several portraits of Jews on the archway into the chapel wearing a Jewish cap including one in a blue conical hat; and at least one other portrait of a Jew in a roundell inside the chapel (see Figure 5).

Figure 5: Image of a Jew in the Holy Sepulchre Chapel, Winchester Cathedral, © Welch 2016.



Welch asserts that the images, which are believed to date from the twelfth century, are not specifically anti-Semitic in nature (Welch 2015a). She argues that the paintings do not portray the Jewish figures negatively, as they are either Church Patriarchs, or figures central to the resurrection story, and are therefore part of the Biblical narrative;⁵⁰ this is consistent with the Easter resurrection theme of the chapel. Crucially, Welch identifies that each painting depicts the Jewish characters in the same manner as non-Jews, except that the Jews are identifiable by their hats (Welch 2015a). Conversely, Bale describes them as 'anti-semitic grotesques' (2012: 65). In Bale's interpretation, the Jewish hat forms part of the derogative nature of the images.⁵¹ However, there are several arguments employed by Welch and evident elsewhere that support the non-negative nature of the paintings. Firstly, associations with the hat as anti-Semitic can be discounted, at least during the period that the Holy Sepulchre Chapel images were painted. Art Historian Leslie Ross, notes that the hat was not compulsory, in terms of identifying Jews, until the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, when the '*Judenhut* (*pileus cornutus*, pointed hat) ... was specified among the required identifying badges for Jews' (1996: 135); until this point, Ross notes, it was a voluntary fashion (1996: 135). Secondly, and perhaps most importantly, Ross highlights that 'the directive of distinguishing Jews by dress was interpreted with some variation in different regions and in England this was a badge of yellow cloth' (1996: 135), not a hat as instructed elsewhere in Europe. Thirdly, Lipton highlights that 'the sign of the "Jewish hat" was not inescapably negative and did not necessarily enshrine a sense of utter difference' (2014: 45). Finally, the image of the Jew wearing the blue conical hat has been adapted and reproduced in cartoon form by a contemporary Jewish community, and features as part of the header for the Oxford Jewish Heritage website. The website was established in 2006 by the Oxford Jewish Congregation (2017) who would not have utilised an image they believed to be anti-Semitic in nature.

There are two further images of Jews in Winchester Cathedral, and these can be found in the Winchester Bible, also dating from the twelfth century (see Figure 6). The Bible is significant in its size and quality, and one volume is on public display in the north transept (Winchester Cathedral 2017f). Welch notes that whilst there have been suggestions that these illustrations are by the same artist as the images in the Holy Sepulchre Chapel, this is questionable due to the way that the Jews in the Winchester Bible are portrayed (2015a). Welch argues that whilst the Holy Sepulchre Chapel wall paintings portrays Jews in a seemingly positive manner, the illustrations in the Winchester Bible appear to depict Jews negatively as they depict both Jews without beards, unlike those in the Chapel

⁵⁰ Christina Welch (2017), Conversation with Toni Griffiths, 13 May.

⁵¹ Anthony Bale (2017), E-mail to Toni Griffiths, 19 January.

Figure 6: Image of a Jew in the Winchester Bible, Winchester Cathedral, © Welch 2016.



who do have beards. The presence (or not) of a beard is significant in both Jewish and non-Jewish contexts. In Judaism the beard is seen as a sign of maturity and is described in the Talmud as ‘the glory of the face’ (BT Shabbat 152a),⁵² similarly in medieval England, it ‘could signify maturity and masculinity, nobility and power’ (Lipton 1999: 20). Therefore, the Jews in the Winchester Bible can be understood as demonstrating both subordination and immaturity; they have in effect yet to come to Christ.

There is seemingly a silence in Winchester Cathedral regarding the images of Jews in the Holy Sepulchre Chapel and the Winchester Bible. The background information leaflet that accompanies the *Medieval Jewish Trail* (Welch 2015a; 2015b), notes that both the wall paintings in the Holy Sepulchre Chapel and the images from the Winchester Bible are available to see on the Cathedral’s website. However, whilst both sources are discussed, there is no current reference to the presence of Jewish figures in its online description of either the Winchester Bible or the Holy Sepulchre Chapel (Winchester Cathedral 2017). In contrast, there is a feature length article on the Cathedral website about the series of images in the Lady Chapel, which features one painting of a Jewish boy, found on the south wall (Adams 2017).

The collection of images in the Lady Chapel date from the early sixteenth century, and depict the *Legenda Aurea*, or *Lives of Saints*, ‘a thirteenth-century compendium of stories that became the standard source of information about saints in the two centuries that followed’ (Witmore 2007: 29). The Jewish boy is portrayed as having been shielded and saved from the flames by the Virgin Mary, after he was thrown into the oven by his father for attending a Christian mass (Mundill 1998: 53). Such images are not unusual of the time and are similar to those at Eton Chapel (Rubin 1999: 18). The article on the Lady Chapel paintings was published as part of a ‘collection of important articles about the Cathedral’, known as the *Record Extra*, and is added to three times a year (Winchester Cathedral 2017d). Author, Julie Adams, describes the painting as:

The Jew of Bourges. A young Jewish boy living in Bourges went with his Christian friends to church and took bread and wine as they did. When he got home, his father asked him where he had been and was so angered by his reply that, much to the protestations of his mother, he threw him into the oven. The young boy survived and the neighbours retaliated by throwing the father into the oven where he perished (2017: 12).

The article is significant in acknowledging the image in an informative and detailed manner. However, whilst the section on the image of the Jewish boy reflects the length of other descriptions in the

⁵² BT refers to Babylonian Talmud.

article, there is no explanation regarding the anti-Semitic rhetoric of the image itself or the story that accompanies it. The absence of such additional information is complicated by the previous treatment of the painting by Cathedral tour guides, which were criticised by Jewish visitors, *The Jewish Chronicle*, and a Labour MP, for 'insensitivity' (Kushner 2009: 98).

Public access to the Lady Chapel has been intermittent across the years. In 1538, the images were white-washed over during the Reformation, but after many years they began to show through again as the white-wash flaked off; in 1901 they were covered with fabric which was then removed in 1929; and, finally they were covered over with wooden hinged boards that now display a copy of the images. It is this version that is available to the public and Adams notes that behind the hinged boards, 'there is very little left of the original paint work' (2017: 15). The chapel is now open to the public after more than four years of closure, whilst archaeological work was carried out on important Anglo-Saxon remains that are held by the Cathedral (Adams 2017: 1). Whilst the Lady Chapel does not regularly feature in tour guides of the Cathedral, Tour Guide Training Manager, Phil Ferris, notes 'some guides do try to go in'.⁵³ However, Ferris also notes that guides 'are unlikely to home in on such a specific detail' as the image of the Jewish boy.⁵⁴

At the far end of the Cathedral is a thirteenth-century sculpture, thought to represent Ecclesia, or the Christian Church (Winchester Cathedral 2017c). If the identification is correct, this is one half of a pair of statues known as Ecclesia and Synagoga, that were placed in cities that had thriving Jewish communities to symbolise the superiority of Christianity over Judaism (Rowe 2014: 1). Ecclesia (Christianity) is a female statue wearing a crown and holding a chalice, and a cross which represents the New Testament of the Bible. She is upright and confident and embodies the supremacy of the Christian Church. In comparison, Synagoga (Judaism) is blindfolded with a fallen crown, she carries the Ten Commandments loosely in her grasp, and she is shown to represent the misguided and outdated Jewish religion seen to be unnecessary by the coming of Jesus (Rowe 2014: 1-2). Winchester Cathedral's website notes that the statue was excavated from the 'Cathedral grounds headless, armless, and weather beaten' (Winchester Cathedral 2017c), and highlights that it is now in the south retrochoir aisle but makes no reference to the other half of the pair, Synagoga. To discuss only one half of the sculpture in this way, is, according to Bale, to deny it any meaning, as he notes 'Ecclesia and Synagoga only gain meaning in relation to each other, and through their mutual likeness' (Bale 2010:1). The absence of a full description is complicated further by Jewish Chaplain, Alexander Goldberg, who, when speaking at the annual Lovell Interfaith Lecture held at the Cathedral, suggested

⁵³ Phil Ferris, Tour Guide Training Manager (2018), Email to Toni Griffiths, 25 January.

⁵⁴ Phil Ferris (2018), Email to Toni Griffiths, 25 January.

that the statue currently on display as 'Ecclesia', could, in fact, be Synagoga (2012). Goldberg notes that due to its current state, as '[d]ecapitated and armless it is difficult to tell whether the remaining statue is Ecclesia or Synagoga, the two becoming indistinguishable from the other in its current state' (Goldberg 2012: [online]).

Ecclesia and Synagoga are also depicted in the form of a pair of reliefs in the chapel that commemorates Bishop Stephen Gardiner (d.1555). The chapel was constructed after Gardiner's death by his executors, around the time that Queen Elizabeth came to the throne, and England once more shifted from a Roman Catholic to a Protestant country (Welch 2016a: 391). It could be that these visual devices say more about the Christian political scene of the time, rather than being explicitly anti-Semitic; there were no Jews officially in the country at the time of the statues' construction, and Hillaby and Hillaby highlight that '[t]he relationship of Synagoga and Ecclesia, representing the Old and New law, has not always been, as in the thirteenth century, one of violent confrontation' (Hillaby and Hillaby 2013: 346).

The Cathedral offers a large number of activities and attractions designed to disseminate fifteen centuries of Cathedral history to its visitors (Winchester Cathedral 2017a). The depth of information available to the public is indicated by the suggestion that visitors use the 'top 10 highlights' of the Cathedral because to explore the site in its entirety, would likely 'take more than one day' (Winchester Cathedral 2017b). Also, tour guides at the Cathedral are expected to undergo six months of training in order to equip them with the level of knowledge required to appropriately guide visitors (Winchester Cathedral 2017e). The complexity and broad timeline of Cathedral history covered by tour guides provides some explanation for the omission of medieval Jewish history and its relationship with the Cathedral which could be explored through discussions at the Holy Sepulchre Chapel, the Lady Chapel, or the Winchester Bible display.⁵⁵ Indeed, discussions with tour guides have highlighted that there is a distinct gap in knowledge about the images of Jews in the Cathedral, or, as with the case of the Jews in the Holy Sepulchre Chapel, an unawareness of their presence altogether.⁵⁶

When considering the silences in Winchester Cathedral towards the representation of medieval Jewish history, it is important to note the many roles of the Cathedral, in addition to its purpose as a historical site. The primary function of the Cathedral is as an active place of Christian worship, conducting church services, worship, and community outreach (Winchester Cathedral 2017h).

⁵⁵ Absence of medieval Jewish history and the Cathedral in tour guides, correct 20 December 2016; Phil Ferris (2016), Email to Toni Griffiths, 17 November.

⁵⁶ A visit to Winchester Cathedral with Christina Welch to see the images at the Holy Sepulchre chapel in November 2016 led to an informal discussion with a tour guide and their group of visitors after Welch pointed out the Jews in the paintings. The guide was previously unaware of the images and enthusiastic to know more.

Further, the building is a Grade One listed ancient scheduled monument, 'that carries with it a major conservation and maintenance programme' (Winchester Cathedral 2017g: [online]). The scale of operating and running the Cathedral in a capacity that fulfils each of these roles, combined with the voluntary nature of the guides and their training, means that it is fair to suggest, that the omission of medieval Jewish history and its relationship with the Cathedral, may not be deliberate; therefore, there may be a future opportunity to include this currently hidden history into visitor information. However, this history is problematic and highlights the Church's role in anti-Semitism, and as such its inclusion will doubtless require deep thought, although an acknowledgement of the Church's historic anti-Semitism can be seen in Norwich Cathedral (see Chapter Six).

Overall, the lack of Jewish history in the Cathedral does not constitute forgetting in the definitive sense. Writer and Policy Analyst, David Rieff, notes that for this to be the case a knowledge of the subject is required, and for Winchester Cathedral tour guides this knowledge is currently largely absent; Rieff states 'one cannot forget what one never knew' (2016: 21). The current silence of the Cathedral is representative of potential future work that may be employed in ensuring the city's medieval Jews form a solid part of Winchester's historic narrative. One possible resolution could be a collaboration between the University of Winchester and the Cathedral's Education Department in terms of supplementary literature for visitors; or the academics involved with the *Medieval Jewish Trail* could offer training lectures and workshops for the tour guides, so that references to Jewish history and its relationship with the Cathedral can be mentioned in more general tours.⁵⁷

Having identified the areas in Winchester where medieval Jewish history might be expected to be found, but is not, it is necessary to explore how this history has been preserved. The one, near-constant, reminder of the city's Jewish history that has remained across the ages, is Jewry Street. Kushner describes the street name as significant in stimulating the memory of Winchester's Jewry, noting that:

There is no doubt that the continuous existence (in name if not quite direction and scope) of Jewry Street from 1302 through to the present day, with only a brief gap from the mid-eighteenth century until 1830 as Gaol Street, acted itself as a crucial aide-memoire with regard to the presence of medieval Jewry in Winchester (2009: 58).

Kushner asserts 'that without the stimulation provided by the street name itself, it is certain that medieval Winchester Jewry would have been subject to even greater obscurity' (2009: 59). However, Jewry Street is accountable for forgetting as much as it is for remembering, as by its very existence it

⁵⁷ Christina Welch (2017), Conversation with Toni Griffiths, 3 July.

also bares the responsibility of forgetting the name and history that came before it: the Saxon shoemakers of Scowertenestret, or Shoemaker's Street (2009: 58). The focus on forgetting is significant when considering how best to remember any area of history, as inevitably in doing so, other histories are omitted, marginalised, or in the case of the shoemakers, replaced. The purpose of renaming the street Jewry Street is unclear, although suggestions can be made based on the fact that the change took place in 1302 shortly after the expulsion of the Jews in 1290. It is possible that the new street name was meant as an *aide de memoire* of the newly absent Jewish community, or alternatively, as a celebration of purging the city of a minority group. On balance, the latter is the most plausible given that the Jewry were removed by royal ultimatum (Mundill 2010: 156) and were not entirely welcomed by all members of the city. As the *Medieval Jewish Trail* notes, there is a history of persecution, false allegation, public execution, and even murder (Welch 2015a; Welch 2015b).

One resident of the city who found the Jewish population highly problematic was Richard of Devizes. In 1963 Historian John Appleby published an edited translation of Richard of Devizes' *Chronicle*. Devizes was a monk at St Swithun's Priory and his monastic chronicle covers the early part of King Richard's reign until October 1192. The main impact of Devizes' text on the representation of Winchester's medieval Jews comes from the apparent proclamation of a positive relationship between the Jews and Christians of the city, at a time when communities elsewhere across England were engaged in pogroms; the particular anti-Jewish violence of 1190 is discussed in more detail in the context of York in Chapter Five. Richard of Devizes states that Winchester:

alone spared its worms. They were a prudent and far-sighted people and a city that always behaved in a civilised manner. They never did anything over-hastily, for fear they might repent of it later, and they looked to the end of things rather than to its beginnings. They did not want partially to vomit forth the undigested mass violently and at their peril, even though they were urged to do so when they were not ready. They hid in their bowels, modestly (or naturally) dissimulating their disgust meanwhile, till at an opportune time for remedies they could cast out all the morbid matter once and for all (1963: 4).⁵⁸

Here Devizes suggests that Winchester was a place of distinct difference in how it treated its Jews, even describing it as, 'the Jerusalem of Jews in which they enjoyed perpetual peace' (1963: 67).

⁵⁸ The original Latin reads:

Sola tantum suis uermibus pepercit Wintonia. Populus prudens et prouidus ac ciuitas semper ciuilitate agit. Nichil unquam egit prepopere, nichil plus metuens quam penitere; rerum exitus estimate ante principia. Noluit indigierem qua premebatur imparata periculo sui per partes uiolenter euomere, cautique uisceribus, dissimulans interim modeste (uel phisice) molestiam, donec opotuno medendi tempore totam liceat sibi morbi materiam simul et semel egerere (Richard of Devizes 1963: 3).

Some public facing representations of medieval Jewish history have drawn on literal interpretations of Devizes' work, focusing on Winchester as an exceptional place in its role as a safe haven for Jews; for example, Carpenter Turner has noted that one city tour guide spoke of the 'tolerant religious policy [which] allowed the Winchester Jews in their unenclosed ghetto to live peacefully with their fellow citizens' (1970: 10). It is notable that Winchester did not partake in the violence following Richard I's coronation and there are examples of Jews and Christians living side by side in relative peace in the city; for example, Peter de Roches, the Bishop of Winchester, is known to have entertained some Jews at his castle, and Licoricia had a Christian maid servant (Bartlett 2009: 16, 109). However, it is important to note that such examples form one segment of medieval Jewish life in Winchester and that there were other parts that were less positive, such as the three ritual murder accusations brought against the city's Jews in 1192 (Hillaby and Hillaby 2013: 388), 1225 and 1232 (Bale 2003: 130). Further, Bale's reading of the Devizes' text also suggests that the description of Winchester as the Jerusalem of Jews is not what it at first appears, he notes:

The idea of Winchester being 'the Jerusalem of the Jews' not only teases the city's large Jewish population (and perhaps mocks the financial dealings between churchmen and the Jews) but ironises the body-text, which at this point follows Richard I's lame progress in his journey to Jerusalem. The Jerusalem of the Jews is Jerusalem, whilst Winchester was an ecclesiastical and royal centre for Christians (2000: 62).

It is now commonly accepted that Richard of Devizes' *Chronicle* is a work of satire, 'directed at many aspects of contemporary society' (Hillaby and Hillaby 2013: 388), and not a historical account of Winchester's Jewish community. Indeed, utilising the account for such purposes has heeded academic warning; Skinner notes the dangers of 'searching for the truth about Jewish life' in literary sources, and the need for historians to be 'wary of trying to find the literal in the literary' (2009: 9).⁵⁹

Devizes' work has also been subject to further changes of interpretation, evident in his use of the word '*holocaustum*', or 'holocaust' (Richard of Devizes 1963: 2-3). In 1999, Philosopher Giorgio Agamben stated that Devizes was one of the first authors to use the term, asserting that it 'contains a hereditary that is from its inception anti-Semitic' (1999: 30-31); following the events of World War II and the attempts of the Nazis to eliminate the Jews the term *Holocaust* is now extremely provocative. However, scholar of English and Literature, Heather Blurton, criticises Agamben's assessment for constructing a 'straightforward genealogy' of Devizes' use of the term (2014: 343). Blurton states that:

⁵⁹ For more on the text as satire see Bale 2000 and Levine 1987.

Richard of Devizes' choice of the word 'holocaust' probably was not intended to indicate, however satirically, that the murder of several Jews on the occasion of the coronation of Richard the Lionheart was, as Agamben seems to suggest, participant in a euphemistic use of the term that implies a sacrifice pleasing to God. More likely... it is a reference to the devastating fires that broke out during the rioting (2014: 343).⁶⁰

The contrast between Agamben and Blurton in the possible meaning of just one word demonstrates the complexities of retrospective applications of modern definitions. Such debates are important to address here, not only because of the focus on Richard of Devizes and Winchester, but also due to the focus throughout this thesis on using the correct terminology, such as will be found in Chapter Five, where the appropriateness of the term 'massacre' is considered in relation to the martyrdom/massacre of Jews in Clifford's Tower. Continuing the assessment of modern terms in a medieval context it is worth pausing at this stage to discuss the relevance and application of the modern term 'anti-Semitism' in a medieval context as it is one that has and will continue to pepper this thesis.

Wilhelm Marr coined the term anti-Semitism in the 1870s (Zimmermann 1987). Its application and definition are fluid, complex, differ between academic disciplines, and is often disputed from within these fields. It is generally accepted that the creation of the term was in order to distinguish between old-term Jew hatred and modern, political, ethnic, or racial opposition to the Jews (Almog 1989). Bale asserts that there is a sliding scale in how this term can be applied, and whilst it 'is admittedly a modern one applied retrospectively... the fact that the label did not exist does not mean that it was absent; it simply had not yet been categorised' (2003:129). Conversely, Historian Robert Chazan asserts that despite the continuities across time and space in different events of anti-Jewish violence and prejudice, the risk of utilising one descriptive term can inhibit our ability to understand specific historical conditions, and ultimately to 'transform every instance of social tension into an antisemitic event is ultimately to cheapen language that ought to conjure up unimaginable horror' (1997:130). Gavin Langmuir takes a different approach in defining anti-Semitism, claiming that the origins of the term can found in the high middle ages when a 'rational', theologically-based anti-Judaism developed into the 'irrational' demonic, Jew-hating anti-Semitism (1996: 133). Langmuir asserts that the violence experienced by the Jews of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is an integral part of the history and is demonstrative of anti-Semitism as becoming part of medieval culture (1996: 133). However, the

⁶⁰ The original Latin read: *Eodem coronationis die circa illam solempnitatis horam qua Filius immolabatur Patri, inceptum est in ciuitate Londonie immolare Iudeos patri suo diabolo. Tantaque fuit huius celebris mora misterii uti ix altera die compleri potuerit holocaustum* (Richard of Devizes 1963: 2).

implication by Langmuir that anti-Judaism develops into anti-Semitism and that it was wholly the responsibility of the Church, creates an overly simplistic picture. Bale highlights multiple roles in the promotion and extension of, particularly, literary, anti-Semitism, by acknowledging the responsibility of wider Christian socio-cultural and intellectual institutions as well as the Church (2010: 10, 16). Bale argues against Langmuir's assertion that anti-Semitism grows out from anti-Judaism, asserting instead that the two are of related categories that encourage and feed off the other (2003: 129). Additional weight is added to this argument by the prevailing identity of 'Jew' in the context of Jews who converted to Christianity; in the case of prejudice being based purely on religion, conversion should end difference, but it did not, and the assumption, at times, that Jewishness was inherent and unchangeable continued to lead to the demonisation of the Jews. Indeed, art Historian Ruth Mellinkoff highlights the complexity of the Christian attitude toward Jews as being more than anti-Jewish religion, using an example of a Jew who appears in court, and despite his conversion to Christianity, he is still remembered as a Jew (1999: 33). Then, as now, Judaism was an ethnicity as well as a religious practice.

The issue of how, and when, to employ the term anti-Semitism is often complicated by the introduction of other contemporary terminology such as race, ethnicity, and identity. Medieval Studies and English Scholar, Geraldine Heng, uses the example of nineteen Jews charged and executed in 1255 'by order of Henry III' for the murder of Hugh of Lincoln (2011: 333), to highlight the role of the state's attitudes towards Jews in popular feeling and behaviour. This example illustrates further the complex relationship between anti-Judaism and anti-Semitism. Heng asserts that if the same situation was applied to a modern context, it would be considered as an 'act of race', as she notes:

state executions of group victims – victims condemned by community fictions that are allowed to exercise juridical force through law... have often been understood by race studies to constitute de facto acts of race: institutional crimes of a sanctioned, legal kind committed by the state against members of an internal population identified by their recognized membership within a targeted group (2011: 334).

It is notable that there are some complications with Heng's assertion. Firstly, Heng uses the term 'state', a loaded notion that is problematic in relation to the medieval period in England, when the concept of a state was present yet also fluid and complex.⁶¹ Secondly, Heng refers to changes in scientific, medical, and theological thought during the medieval period, referring to the belief that 'Jewish bodies gave off a special fetid stench (the infamous *foetor judaicus*), and Jewish men bled

⁶¹ For a discussion on the use of the term 'state' see Davies (2003: 280-300).

uncontrollably from their nether parts, either annually, during Passion week, or monthly, like menstruating women' (2011: 259). Thus, discussing general attitudes and actions towards Jews in the context of 'race' represents another example of the complexities of applying modern terminology retrospectively. Indeed, the term race itself is one with disputed definitions and rules for application (Kushner 2013: 435), that have been subject to change within modern times; the Latin term *gens*, meaning family, groups, kin, has often been translated as race or tribe, however, this is now considered obsolete within a framework of earlier and sometimes racist rendering of sources (Heng 2018: 5).

An alternative approach to how the term anti-Semitism should be applied is demonstrated by theologian, Rosemary Radford Ruether, who discusses different types of anti-Semitism and their origins in her book *Faith and Fratricide: The Theological Roots of Anti-Semitism* (1996). Ruether notes that 'Christian anti-Semitism' can be traced back almost to the beginning of Christianity (1996: 12), and pagan anti-Semitism before that. Ruether highlights a continuity in the experience of anti-Semitism across time and space, a view supported by Louis Jacobs, who states that anti-Semitism has origins 'virtually to the beginnings of Judaism itself' (1999: 29), and Hyam Maccoby who describes different kinds of anti-Semitism dating back to 'the ancient world' (2009: 14). The theme of consistency in the Jewish tradition and experience is also central to this thesis, for example, the previous exploration of continuities (or not) of ritual and practice in Jewish death in Chapter Three. Crucially, Maccoby rejects the use of race and biology to define the term, arguing that 'the alleged biological or racial reference... were never taken very seriously', thus providing a different definition of anti-Semitism, that is instead more a phobia towards the Jewish people and 'a hatred at a paranoid level' (2009: 13). Conversely, it is notable that other schools of thought have abandoned the term anti-Semitism entirely. This new approach is based on the perception that it is too limiting and too provocative in the associations it draws to be of analytical value (Kushner 2013: 441). However, to not use the term is arguably to give it more power by removing what has become a widely-recognised label for the Jewish experience of victimisation and persecution on a varying scale.

The overall issues with the term anti-Semitism in terms of definition and application are distinctly relevant to this chapter and the wider thesis, not only because they are integral to the study of the Jewish experience, but also, more directly, in the context of Winchester's contemporary Jewish community. In 2015, the *Medieval Jewish Trail* was launched as a result of a collaborative project between local Jews, the City Council, and the University of Winchester. During the design process, members of the Jewish community were asked why this project was important to them. Maggie

Carver stated that she was especially concerned that the walk should help with ‘communal relationships as well as give Winchester’s population a better understanding of anti-Semitism’;⁶² and Danny Habel noted that the tour would make Jews and Judaism more visible in Winchester, thus it would be ‘helpful to expose [the] unreasonable and dangerous bias’ cultivated by anti-Semitism.⁶³

The *Medieval Jewish Trail* is significant in that it is, currently, the only public recognition of the city’s medieval Jewish past. With the support of Winchester City Council, the self-guided walking tour was produced to complement the existing suite of tourist guides on offer that explore the history of the city. This was additionally supported by a University of Winchester webpage on the project, which provides ‘additional information for interested visitors’ (Welch 2015a). The trail gained some local media attention (Napier 2014; Anon 201c; Holder 2015) and the City Council hosted a civil reception for the inaugural walk which included a guided tour by official tour guides. A small number of lectures followed in both Winchester and Oxford, and the local tourist guide training has been updated to ensure that references to medieval Jewish history are given even on the more generalised tours of Winchester. As a result of this training, the official city tour guides now also offer semi-regular guided versions of the *Medieval Jewish Trail* as part of a focus on the city’s ‘hidden histories’; the tour ‘Hidden Religion: Medieval Jewish Winchester’ utilises the tour guides’ personal research, the *Medieval Jewish Trail*, and information presented in a lecture for Winchester City Tour Guides by me and Welch.⁶⁴ Notably, a guided tour of medieval Jewish Winchester features as part of the 2018 Winchester Festival, a prestigious and popular nine-day arts and culture event.⁶⁵

The paucity of built-heritage and other tangible evidence relating to the medieval Winchester Jewry posed a significant challenge for the development of a walking tour designed to remember this aspect of history. The main issue was that audiences would ‘expect to be able to see something when on a walking tour’;⁶⁶ indeed, one review of the trail in the *Jewish News* noted that the walk ‘requires considerable imagination, as only hints of the history can still be seen’ (Daltroff 2016: [online]), thus demonstrating the complexities of remembering a materially lost community. The developers of the tour attempted to address this challenge by ensuring that the ‘leaflet reader and trail walkers had a focus’ (Welch 2016b: 9), and so the trail is a guide to the areas where relevant sites are known to

⁶² Maggie Carver, Member of the Winchester Jewish community (2017), Email to Toni Griffiths, 28 April.

⁶³ Danny Habel, Member of the Local Jewish community (2014), Email to Toni Griffiths, 11 June.

⁶⁴ The ‘hidden histories’ tours include waterways, art, religion, and places. For more information see: <https://web.archive.org/save/http://winchestertouristguides.com/index.php/tours/themed-tours>. The lecture, ‘Medieval Jewish Winchester’, took place on 12 November 2015 at the United Reformed Church Winchester.

⁶⁵ See Winchester Festival, 6-14 July 2018 <http://winchesterfestival.co.uk>

⁶⁶ Claire Dixon, Chair of Winchester Tourist Guides Association (2014), Meeting with Danny Habel, 01 April.

have been, whilst telling the story of the community through key characters and events. This in effect makes the tour one of absence, and thus it has been criticised by some walkers who found it difficult to engage with the trail.⁶⁷ This raises questions such as, is a trail of absence better than no trail at all? The developers of the trail assert that remembering Winchester's medieval Jewish community in this way presents the opportunity to 'recall and populate this aspect of the past' (2016: 363), its significance resides in the fact that the alternative has been to remain silent, and for omission to continue.⁶⁸

A further challenge to the *Medieval Jewish Trail* was identified during a special guided tour for participants held as part of the international conference 'Heritage and its Communities', organised and hosted by the Parkes Institute for the Study of Jewish/non-Jewish Relations at the University of Southampton, in July 2016. The trail was largely well received, however one criticism was that the tour could have benefited from a more thematic approach; that it could have been more successful if it identified with one individual, namely Licoricia, a prominent medieval Jewish female moneylender, as this could provide the tourist with a greater insight into medieval everyday life, as well as the medieval Jewry.⁶⁹ However, due to a lack of source material about Licoricia, even given the comprehensive publication on Licoricia by Bartlet (2009), a walk of this nature would be forced to focus around educated guesses rather than known facts. As noted in Chapter Two, much of the source material about medieval Anglo-Jewry is based on financial transactions and court records, thus much of the human dimension of Anglo-Jewish life is missing. Therefore, information required for a historically accurate walking tour, such as the location of where Licoricia was born, lived, and died, remains unknown and any possibility of creating a form of public engagement purely focused on her individually would be severely restricted.

Although there are notable issues with the *Medieval Jewish Trail* from the perspective of some walkers, it does introduce both medieval Jewish history and important locations in the city, through a focus on a number of key individuals; every Jew who is mentioned in medieval records is mentioned by name in the tour (Welch 2016b: 8). The concentration on individual Jews was an idea incorporated by Welch to uphold the requests of members of the local Jewish community to include positive as well as negative histories, in an effort to represent as full a picture as is possible of Winchester's

⁶⁷ Feedback from journalist, and author, Ruth Ellen Gruber, given after the guided tour of the *Medieval Jewish Trail* at the Heritage and its Communities Conference, Southampton, 2016.

⁶⁸ Christina Welch (2017), Conversation with Toni Griffiths, 15 May.

⁶⁹ Feedback from journalist and author Ruth Ellen Gruber given after the guided tour of the *Medieval Jewish Trail* at the Heritage and its Communities Conference, Southampton, 11-13 July 2016.

Jewry. However, feedback from one member of the Jewish community demonstrates that the restricted word count of the trail may have impacted on the effectiveness of this approach; Maggie Carver asserts that the walking tour creates the perception that ‘the Jews of Winchester were mainly a bunch of usurers and criminals and I don’t think that’s a fair reflection’.⁷⁰ The criticism arises from the consignment of important background information to the supplementary literature on the project’s website that explains the often fictitious and exaggerated nature of allegations made against the Jews mentioned in historical records; a decision made to adhere to the publisher’s requirements on word length.⁷¹

The restricted word count also contributes towards other issues in the *Medieval Jewish Trail*, such as the use of the term ‘usury’ which is read with negative connotations by some people given that modern dictionaries define it as lending at ‘unreasonably high rates of interest’ (Oxford Dictionary 2018: [online]). However, it is noteworthy that the trail states ‘[u]nlike Jews, at this time Christians were forbidden to lend money for interest (usury)’ (Welch 2015b), thus a clear definition is provided before proceeding with the term ‘usury’ as a way to keep the word count (and word length) restricted. The negative feedback on the *Medieval Jewish Trail* demonstrates the challenges that can arise in an effort to meet the needs of multiple groups and individuals within a project. However, it also highlights the unique and ongoing nature of the trail and the collaboration between stakeholders, and future re-prints of the leaflet will include adjustments accounting for the concerns raised as far as possible.⁷²

Wider responses to the *Medieval Jewish Trail* have been noted by Head of Tourism at Winchester City Council, Ellen Simpson, as enthusiastic.⁷³ Simpson also highlighted that the reason that the city’s Jewish history has not been previously incorporated into a tour or similar, is because ‘no one had asked for it’.⁷⁴ Feedback from the general public to the city tourist office about the trail indicates that local residents and tourists alike often did not know that there had been a medieval Jewish community in the city despite the presence of Jewry Street, and have welcomed the new trail with curiosity.⁷⁵ Indeed, so successful has the collaboration between the University, the city, and members of the local Jewish community been, that the City Council plans to continue developing the city’s representation of its medieval Jewish history. Further, the trail has influenced independent local

⁷⁰ Maggie Carver (2017), Email to Toni Griffiths, 28 April.

⁷¹ Christina Welch (2017), Conversation with Toni Griffiths, 29 April.

⁷² Christina Welch (2017), Email to Maggie Carver, 9 May.

⁷³ Ellen Simpson, Head of Tourism at Winchester City Council (2016), Conversation with Toni Griffiths, 08 July.

⁷⁴ Ellen Simpson (2016), Conversation with Toni Griffiths, 08 July.

⁷⁵ Danny Habel (2016), Email to Ellen Simpson, 22 September.

projects, such as a play by the Blue Apple Theatre Company, which will include references to medieval Jews in their forthcoming show 'Winchester! The First 100,000,000 Years', 'a whistle-stop tour of the city we call "home"' (Theatre Royal Winchester 2018: [online]).

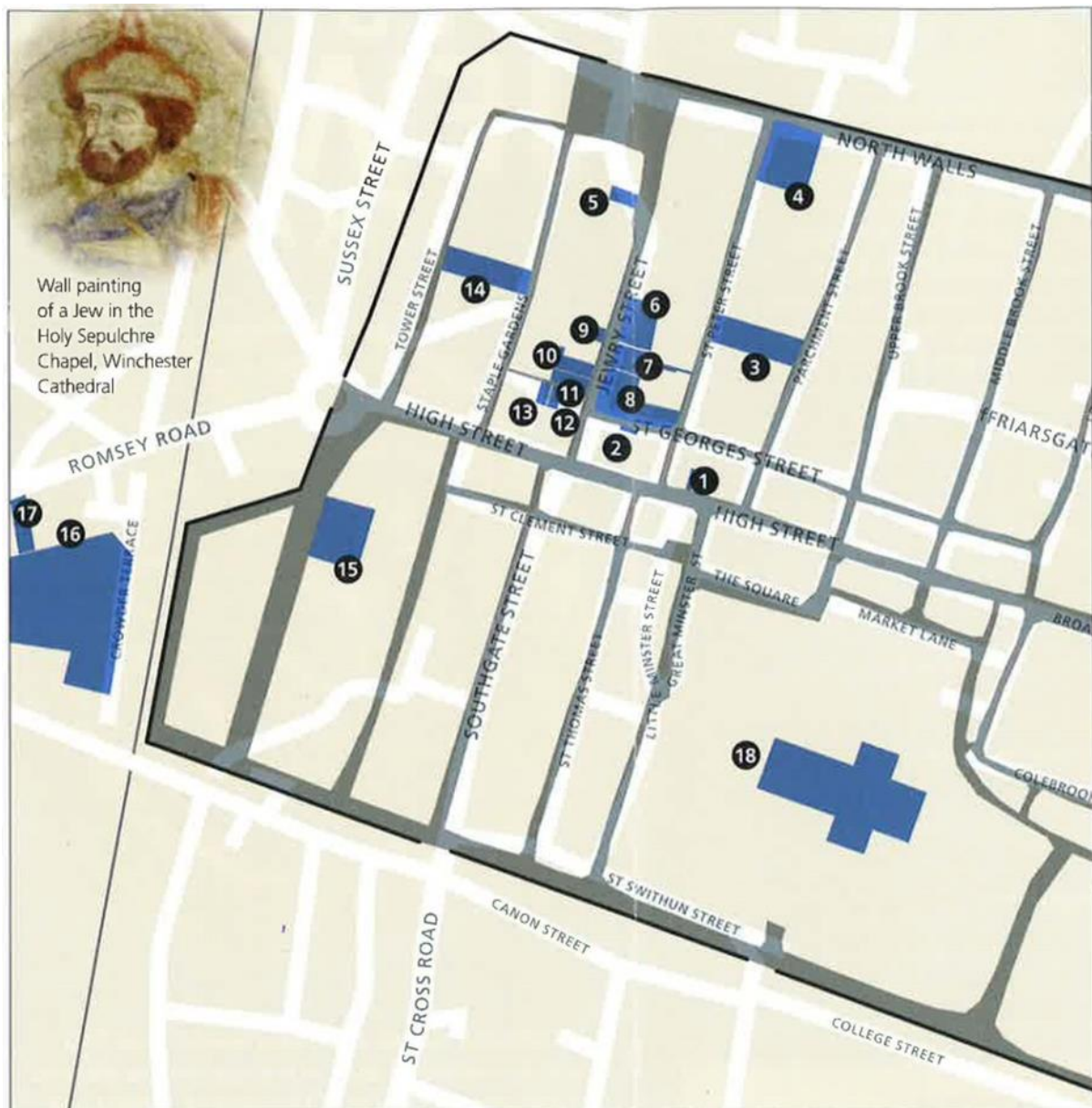
However, there are challenges to the continuation of acknowledging medieval Jewish history in Winchester which may or may not be resolved over time. Winchester Tourism plans to install a series of historical information posts, including one giving an overview of the medieval Jewish history of Winchester, but this project has been stalled by council policies on signage that are in review.⁷⁶ As a result, there is currently nowhere in the city where public interest in medieval Jewish history can be followed up, although the public library does include texts such as Bartlett's *Licoricia of Winchester* (2009), and Derek Keene's *Survey of Medieval Winchester* (1985a). Other developments include forthcoming publications, such as the *Winchester Historic Town Atlas*, and *Winchester Castle: Fortress, Palace and Garrison*, which will both mention the Jews' Tower in the castle, as well as the excavation reports from the site of the medieval Jewish cemetery, excavated in 1974/75 and more extensively in 1995.

The medieval Jewish cemetery was 'outside the Westgate, to the north of the Castle Ditch' (Hillaby and Hillaby 2013: 395), and it is significant as one of the earliest established outside of London, 'probably established soon after 1177' (Keene 1985a: 1034). The location of the site was in close proximity to the castle (see Figure 7) and would have afforded the site some form of protection from desecration and vandalism, indicative of the protective role of royal authority over the Jewish community, due to their status as royal property (Richardson 1960: 109). However, despite its significance, the site is not commemorated in any way as the area is now residential, and due to the private nature of the space, concerns have been raised regarding negative attention; in 2003 Jewish gravestones in Southampton were vandalised with swastikas (Anon 2003a) and there are potential concerns that any commemorative plaque may well bring about similar defacement.⁷⁷ Other issues with commemorating the site with a plaque include funding, as the City Council have asserted that due to restricted budgets and a concentration on the need to aesthetically 'homogenise' the city's

⁷⁶ Ellen Simpson (2016), Email to Toni Griffiths, 30 August.

⁷⁷ Christina Welch (2016), Conversation with Toni Griffiths, 11 September.

Figure 7: The medieval Jewish cemetery (Point 16) and Winchester Castle (Point 15), Welch (2015b).



approach to tourism, any developments on the site would need to be at the contemporary community's own expense.⁷⁸ The limitations of the City Council's funding situation, combined with the fact that there are currently no plans by Winchester's Jewish community to attempt to install a plaque at the cemetery site, means that the existence of the medieval Anglo-Jewish burial ground will remain virtually absent from Winchester's civic memory; with the exception of the *Medieval Jewish Trail* there is nothing to highlight its location and significance (Welch 2015b).

Whilst there are no plans to commemorate the medieval cemetery, some members of the local Jewish community do hope to install a bronze statue of Licoricia, designed to represent and commemorate the medieval Jewish community.⁷⁹ The plans for this project are progressing, however, there are many issues to be overcome, particularly attempting to assign an image to Licoricia without historical evidence. There are no images of Licoricia in historical sources, however, Author Pamela Jones includes an illustration of what Licoricia could have looked like in her book *The Jews of Britain: A Thousand Years of History* (1990). Jones presented Licoricia as 'the most outstanding woman of her time – Jew or gentile' (1990:57) and inserted a drawing of a Jewish woman from Norwich, adding that 'the great female financier, would probably have looked very like the woman in the drawing' (1990:57). Jones' assertion is problematic as it is not based on any factual evidence, but it is demonstrative of methods that would be required by the creators of a statue. Thus, if plans proceed to implement a statue of Licoricia, based on an artist's impression or similar, the result will most likely be hugely contentious. Further, a detailed explanation of the statue and its provenance will be required if any form of historical accuracy is to be respected, and if negative stereotypes to do with heritage and historical accuracy are to be avoided. Sociologist Sybille Frank's contemporary concerns over the heritage industry speak to these issues. She states that heritage:

no longer focusing on originals, on material historical objects, or the source-based academic presentation of "historical facts", but rather on the representation of historical material in the form of spectacular, easily consumable, experience-and emotion-orientated, reliable, and meaningful narratives of the past (Frank 2016: 42).

As has been asserted above and Chapter Two, little is known about medieval Jews such as Licoricia beyond their financial dealings. However, because Licoricia was murdered and money taken from the murder site, there is a record that she had a Christian maid, Alice of Bicton, who was also murdered (Bartlet 2009: 109). Therefore, it is likely that Licoricia is buried in the medieval Jewish cemetery,

⁷⁸ Winchester's Tourism Services are currently focusing on a 'need to homogenise... information and wayfinding as the city is suffering from an overload of different looks from different decades': Ellen Simpson (2016), Email to Toni Griffiths, 30 August.

⁷⁹ Danny Habel (2018), Conversation with Toni Griffiths, 24 January.

although it is not known where exactly her grave would have been. The general site of the cemetery was excavated in 1974-75 and more extensively in 1995 (Kushner 2009: 105), and the discovered human remains were placed into storage by Winchester Museum's Archaeology Service.

In 1996, a group of Haredi Jews from Manchester visited the museum unexpectedly and 'were fairly forceful in their request for an immediate handover of the remains' (Kushner 2009: 16). On the same day, museum staff obliged, and the remains were taken to Manchester for reburial by the Haredi Jews. A brief description of the events was given by the museum for the Scoping Survey of Historic Remains in English Museums (Weeks and Bott 2003), undertaken on behalf of the Ministerial Working Group on Human Remains. The report states that the museum had 'decided to return the material as requested [to] the Jewish authorities' (Weeks and Bott 2003: 85-86), noting that any in-depth research on the remains was not conducted, thus all that remained was the basic analysis that had been conducted at the time of the excavation (Weeks and Bott 2003: 85-86).

The actions of the Haredi group in moving the remains were against an edict issued by the Chief Rabbi of the time, Jonathan Sacks; prior to the involvement of the Haredi group, Sacks stated 'if any [further] medieval Jewish bones are dug up in Winchester, they will stay there' (Sacks cited by Rose 1996). Sacks' insistence on the remains staying in the city of their discovery implies authority, and ownership, over the situation, and indeed even over the individuals exhumed during the excavation. However, that the edict was not complied with, or recognised by the Haredi group is unsurprising given that the Chief Rabbi has no recognised spiritual or legal authority within the Haredi tradition. The office of the Chief Rabbi, although titled the Chief Rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregations of the Commonwealth, is only officially recognised by the Orthodox Jewish community where he is the spiritual head of the United Synagogue communities. Sacks also demanded that the skeletons which had already been excavated must be returned by Winchester Museum Services for immediate reburial (Sacks cited by Kushner 2009: 106). However, this did not happen, and the human remains were interred in the Rainsough Jewish Cemetery in Manchester which mainly houses graves of Eastern European Jews from the nineteenth century and their descendants (Kushner 2009: 107). However, as it could not be definitively stated that the remains were Jewish, they were cordoned off from the rest of the Jewish cemetery (Rose 1996).

Sack's decree to rebury the remains on, or close to, the site where they were discovered is consistent with the reburials in York, which is discussed further in Chapter Five. More recently the Chief Rabbi of Poland, Michael Shudrich, has asserted the same with regards to burying bone fragments from Shoah victims that had been discovered on the surface of areas where the victims' remains were dumped

(Shudrich 2015: 81). Shudrich asserts that these remains should be interred in a 'proper place', i.e.: buried in the ground rather than being present on the surface. He notes '[w]e do not want to remove them from the site' (Shudrich 2015: 81) and states that because the bodies did not receive a proper burial in the first instance, they 'have now acquired their place [and] have the sanctity of where they are buried' (Shudrich 2015: 81). It should be noted that the remains found in Winchester were excavated from a medieval Jewish cemetery, thus had already received an appropriate burial, therefore Shudrich's argument is applicable in that these human remains were required to be returned from whence they had come.

A further reason for the Haredi community not complying with Sack's decree to rebury the Winchester bones in the city is that the Haredi claimed there was a lack of a Jewish community in Winchester at the time of excavation (Rose 1996). This was, however, not entirely correct. There were Jews living in Winchester, but they largely comprised of members of the Reform tradition, and it is likely that the Haredi representatives did not conceive of them as an authoritative or appropriate Jewish community in the sense that Reform Jews are not perceived by Haredi Jews as Torah true (Charme 2000: 134; Lyndfield 2015: [online]). At the time of discovery, the chairwoman of the South Hampshire Reform Community asserted that the remains belonged to Winchester; she stated they were part of 'the Jewish history of the city [and would have made for] a very special corner in Winchester which [proved] Jewish connections with the city are stronger than we first thought' (Anon cited by Kushner 2009: 106). It appears then that for the Manchester Haredim, the Winchester Jewish community were inconsequential, and thus they believed that the exhumed remains would be more appropriately buried where there was a large and growing observant Jewish community, such as in the Rainsough Cemetery in Prestwich, Manchester. It should also be noted that there was no contemporary Jewish burial ground in the Winchester and the nearest suitable area, Southampton Old Cemetery, comprised only a section set aside for Jewish burials. Further, the Jewish Chapel in the Southampton cemetery had long since been converted to a private home (Anon 2010a). The next suitable place would have been the Hollybrook Municipal Cemetery, Southampton, also with a Jewish section, which was opened in 1971 (Anon 2005). But whether this information was part of the Haredi decision-making process is unknown as they have not been available for comment.

The discovery and reburial of the human remains from Winchester raises two key issues in terms of challenges to remembering medieval Anglo-Jewish history. Firstly, the reburial of all the material from the cemetery excavations (or at least the intention to do so) in Manchester transferred a crucial aspect of Winchester's medieval Jewish history away from the city. As previously noted, unlike York,

there is no plaque to commemorate the Jewish cemetery in Winchester, and as such, the existence of a medieval Anglo-Jewish burial ground is virtually absent from the city's civic memory. Secondly, the differences between the traditions within Judaism, starkly demonstrated over the relocation of the exhumed remains, is indicative of tensions not only between archaeological and religious views when dealing with excavated human remains, but also between the different traditions within Anglo-Judaism and their responses to the discovery of medieval Jewish remains; these issues are discussed further in Chapters Five and Six.

To conclude, the broad range of topics covered in this chapter demonstrate that the lack of material evidence is one of the main challenges to remembering medieval Jewish history both academically and publicly. The discovered lead token with Hebrew writing has had little or no impact due to its poor condition, and religious restrictions on the study of excavated human remains (noted in Chapter Three), together with the relocation of those from the Winchester Cemetery to another city, means there is no data on any member of the city's Anglo-Jewry. In addition, the complexity and breadth of Winchester's history across the ages, although providing much choice to visitors, is also something that challenges tourism and heritage providers in their efforts to present concise and visitor-focussed narratives. These challenges have largely led to the omission of medieval Jewish history at local sites such as The Great Hall, where it might otherwise have been expected to be explored due to the importance of the Jews' Tower in the story of the city's Jewish medieval community.

Academic research has been pivotal in raising the profile of Winchester's medieval Jewry, particularly in relation to the *Medieval Jewish Trail* in 2015. However, it was the collaborative efforts of academics alongside members of the local Jewish community that can be seen as the catalyst to change in Winchester's approach to publicly remembering its medieval Jewish history, and in gaining the support of the City Council. Therefore, it can tentatively be suggested that the *Medieval Jewish Trail* has marked the beginning of remembering in Winchester, evident in the Blue Apple Theatre Company production, and, although possibly contentious, the proposed statue of Licoricia.

Crucially, although progress is being made in terms of publicly acknowledging medieval Jewish history, this chapter has also identified that there are many areas that require further work, such as research on the original sources as called for by Keene, and the commemoration of the medieval Jewish cemetery. Memory work relating to the cemetery has arguably been hindered by the actions of the Haredi Jews in reburying the Jewish remains excavated from the Winchester cemetery in Manchester. However, the tensions explored here between the different Jewish groups and Museum officials have

created a foundation from which to explore further case studies of the discovery and reburial of alleged human remains elsewhere across England, as explored in Chapters Five through Seven.

CHAPTER FIVE: YORK

The challenges faced by Anglo-Jewish historiography have been explored in Chapter Two and include apologetic scholarship, a lack of sources on everyday life, a lack of archaeological discoveries, the complexities of cemetery excavations, and an often-overt focus on negative histories. Many of these challenges are ongoing and impact not only on the academic historiography of medieval Anglo-Jewish history, but also on how this history is publicly disseminated; this encompasses not just how it is acknowledged, or remembered, but also why it has been marginalised or forgotten. This chapter will explore these issues in an assessment of how medieval Jewish history has been dealt with in York with a focus on the transition from the omission to the reintegration of medieval Jewish history into the public sphere, and from an acutely negative focus to a broader approach that considers Jewish history as part of the wider historical narrative of the city. The following will explore the specific challenges of remembering medieval Jewish history in York, focussing on the site of Clifford's Tower: the main heritage site associated with medieval Anglo-Jewish history. The approaches of heritage and tourism organisations will also be considered in the context of walking tours, and how key stakeholders have utilised Dark Tourism in the public dissemination of the city's medieval Jewish history. Crucially, this section will also focus on the issue of terminology and the complications of interpreting medieval Jewish history for a public audience, considering Jewish religious sensitivities as well as the impact of current events and the broader political climate on the use of terminology such as 'suicide' and 'martyr'. Finally, this chapter will consider how the excavations of the medieval Jewish cemetery at Jewbury, in York, have impacted on the public representation of York's medieval Jewry, considering the time line of events, and assessing tensions between academia and representatives of different Jewish religious traditions.

In 1068-9, William the Conqueror built two motte-and-bailey castles in York, the strategic centre of his difficult conquest of England's north. Today, Clifford's Tower stands on the site of one of the castles and its history consists of multiple layers of reconstruction. It was originally constructed from timber as part of a wooden castle keep, but in 1069 both castles had to be reconstructed following their destruction during an attack by rebels and Danish invaders. In 1190 Clifford's Tower was destroyed again, burning to the ground in the culmination of anti-Jewish violence that had spread throughout England following Richard I's coronation. It was rebuilt shortly after, but this was followed by further repairs and rebuilding in the early thirteenth century. At the end of the thirteenth century, the tower was replaced with a new construction, but due to an accidental explosion in 1684, only its shell survives to the present day (Ashbee 2016a). Further, in 1902 the mound on which the castle sits

was partially reconstructed as part of a 'radical campaign of repairs and investigations' (Ashbee 2016a: [online]). As a result of the redevelopments, Clifford's Tower can now be considered as a representation of its predecessor; it is constructed from stone and, although built on a similar earth motte, it does not 'stand on the site of the previous wooden castle keep' (Rees Jones 2013:15).

Clifford's Tower is a significant site in medieval Anglo-Jewish history as it was the site of the martyrdom/massacre of an estimated one-hundred-and-fifty Jewish men, women, and children in March 1190. The group took refuge in the wooden castle keep of Clifford's Tower, seeking the protection of the royal constable from a raging mob. As rioting and plunder ensued around the castle, the Jews 'were uncertain in whom to trust' and so they refused to re-admit the royal constable, 'fearing that perchance his fidelity to them was tottering, and that being bribed he was about to give up to their enemies' (William of Newburgh 1853-58: 567);⁸⁰ a siege of the castle followed. The most notorious of the persecutors was Richard of Malebisse, who was described as being violent and audacious and was heavily indebted to a Jewish moneylender, Aaron of Lincoln (Dobson 2010: 23; Jacobs 1893: 128). Rather than be murdered by the rioters, or forcibly converted to Christianity, most of the Jews in the Tower chose to take their own lives. However, they first set it on fire, which consumed their corpses. A small number of survivors decided to seek the clemency offered by their attackers; however, upon leaving the castle they were murdered (Dobson 2010: 18).

The sources available that describe the events of March 1190 are significant in that they are by both Christian and Jewish authors. As discussed in Chapter Two, medieval Jewish history has largely been written using sources from Christian authors due to a lack of alternative options, and indeed, the 1190 Jewish martyrdom/massacre is well documented by Christian chroniclers such as William of Newburgh (1853-58: 565-71). However, this event is also, 'virtually the only episode in the history of the medieval English Jewry to have been recorded in some detail by contemporary, or near-contemporary Hebrew sources' (Dobson 2010: 14), including Ephraim ben Jacob of Bonn (Roth 1949: 270; 1970), Joseph of Chartres (Roth 1945: 216-20), and Menaham ben Jacob of Worms (Schechter 1893-4: 8-14).

Due to the destruction of Clifford's Tower during the events of 1190, and the aforementioned reconstructions, no tangible reminders of its links with local medieval Jewish history. In 1902-03, archaeologists were hopeful to find material evidence relating the martyrdom/massacre during

⁸⁰ The original Latin reads '*incerta jam cui se crederet, non est admissus, ne forte et ejus circa se difes nutaret, et corruptus quos tuendos suscepit hostibus exponeret*' (William of Newburgh 1884: 315).

excavations of the motte. Indeed, when 'a number of charred timbers were found some 12 feet (3.7m) below the surface of the mound' (Rutstein 2000: [online]), it was suggested that these could have been relevant to the fire set by the Jews in 1190. However, Rees Jones asserts that the record of observations made during the excavation 'is considered too sparse to support a definitive interpretation', and instead, it is more likely that the timbers are 'evidence of the destruction of the Norman keep in the revolt of 1069' (2013: 32).

In 1978, a memorial tablet was unveiled at the foot of Clifford's Tower to commemorate the events of 1190. The significance of the plaque is three-fold. Firstly, it was critical in the 'transition from deliberate oblivion to posthumous respect towards the Jews of York' (Dobson 2010: 87), in that it was the first public acknowledgement of the Jewish martyrdom/massacre. Secondly, it demonstrated an act of public unity between the Christian and Jewish representatives present. Thirdly, it was representative of a prolonged campaign by the Jewish Historical Society of England against the custodians of the site, the Ministry of Works, who previously 'did not allow commemorative signage' (Thomas 2011: [online]). The change in approach towards the public recognition of the 1190 events can also be attributed to a wider trend of recognition of Jewish heritage and history across Europe after the Shoah. Gruber highlights that for many years prior, it had been 'marginalised, repressed, or forgotten, not only in countries where the flames of the Holocaust had burned most fiercely, but also in countries less directly touched by the effects of the Shoah' (2002: 5), in this case, England.

The connection between the turning of the tide in English and European approaches towards the recognition of Jewish history and heritage can be further demonstrated in that 1978 was also the year that saw Europe-wide memorial events of forty years since *Kristallnacht*; a pogrom against Jews and Jewish property across Nazi Germany. Further, the octocentenary of the 1190 martyrdom/massacre in York was recognised in 1990 by a series of events held over three days, including a special service held at the local synagogue. Dobson describes the events as 'even better attended' than the 1978 unveiling of the memorial plaque, asserting that '[t]he Jews of medieval York can never have been mourned so eloquently before as in a series of cantatas and litanies, all specially composed 'as pleas for tolerance in an unstable world' (2010: 87). At the same time in Europe, Gruber highlights a trend in what she has termed, the 'Jewish phenomenon', whereby 'anything to do with Judaism, Jews, the Holocaust, and Israel – was increasingly recognised' (2002: 5); the phenomenon includes Jewish festivals, performances, publications, study programs, and museums.

Events are now held annually at the site at the foot of Clifford's Tower on Holocaust Memorial Day (Holocaust Memorial Trust 2017) and are often followed by a civic event (Wainright 2012). These occasions are open to the general public and, in keeping with Holocaust Memorial Day, have been expanded to include commemoration of other victims of genocide such as in Srebrenica, Bosnia, and Rwanda.⁸¹ However, the commemoration at Clifford's Tower still has a focus on the events of 1190, applying a specifically Jewish element to the commemoration by the recitation of the mourner's *Kaddish* (Jewish prayer for the dead) said by a representative of the Jewish community. The significance of reciting the *Kaddish* at Clifford's Tower is highlighted in the context of Shoah commemoration by David Roskies, who asserts that '[w]hen Jews now mourn in public... they preserve the collective memory of the collective disaster' (1999: 4). The mourner's prayer represents one of many ritual acts and liturgy in Judaism that act, as noted in Chapter Three, as vehicles for transmitting historical memory and unifies the Jewish people across time and space through a continuous notion of identity.

The connection between contemporary and medieval Jews through religious ritual and liturgy such as the *Kaddish* promotes a collective memory of the past at Clifford's Tower. In the context of the 1190 martyrdom/massacre this kind of memory is also created, maintained, and aided through what Wulf Kansteiner calls 'objectified culture':

the texts, rites, images, buildings, and monuments which are designed to recall fateful events in the history of the collective. As the officially sanctioned heritage of a society, they are intended for the *longue duree* (Kansteiner 2002: 132).

Thus, the disastrous results of the 1190 events for the medieval Jewish community of York are remembered by a combination of approaches towards collective memory. A connection is made between contemporary and medieval Jews through identity expressed in religious ritual and liturgy, and the building itself acts as a physical reminder act of remembrance, at least on the day of commemoration.

The shared identity of Jews across history is present between contemporary and medieval Jews as they remember their ancestors as the people of Israel. However, it is interesting to note that the sense of continuity and connection in this context is not problematised by cultural differences. For example, as shown in Chapter Three, there are discrepancies between contemporary and medieval Jewish approaches to death practice. Conversely, such unity is not always reflected amongst today's

⁸¹ The broadening of commemorative events in this way is not unusual, as can be seen in other examples such as the Anne Frank exhibition, which now also includes information on other atrocities; see <http://www.nmholocaustmuseum.org>.

Jewish communities; this is particularly true for Jews of the Haredi tradition, as discussed in Chapter Four, who believe that their approach to Judaism is more Torah true.

In addition to cultural and community differences, there is also a geographical and temporal disconnect between the contemporary Jews at Clifford's Tower and the medieval Jews they are remembering. It is notable that the medieval Jews were expelled from England in 1290 and there was not an official Jewish presence again until the seventeenth century, although significant re-establishment of Jewish communities did not take place until circa 1700 and the '1290 edict of expulsion has never formally been revoked' (Bale 2006: 15). However, the degree of distance between the contemporary and medieval Jews does not weaken their connection through collective memory, rather it strengthens it; Kansteiner notes:

memories are at their most collective when they transcend the time and space of the events' original occurrence. As such, they take on a powerful life of their own, "unencumbered" by actual individual memory, and become the basis of all collective remembering as disembodied, omnipresent, low-intensity memory (2002: 189).

Acts of collective memory expressed through commemoration are not limited to the Jewish community. In 1978, at the unveiling of the commemorative plaque at the foot of Clifford's Tower, the Archbishop of York read out a note from a descendent of Richard Malebisse, the renowned persecutor during the 1190 riots mentioned above, 'which apologised for his ancestor and just said "sorry"' (Sugar 1990: 15). Similar apologies were made during the 1990 commemorative events, when 'one of the few remaining descendants of the arch-villain of the events of 1190 – the infamous Richard Malebisse of Acaster Malbis – acknowledged the wickedness of his ancestor' (Sugar 1990: 15). These apologies highlight a connection between contemporary non-Jews and the medieval past, exemplified here by a descendant of one of the main non-Jewish figures of the martyrdom/massacre in 1190. In addition to apologies made at York for medieval wrongdoings towards the Jews, there are also other examples in Norwich, which are discussed in Chapter Six.

In 1990 collaborative efforts to commemorate the martyrdom/massacre between the custodians of Clifford's Tower, English Heritage, and the Jewish communities of England were extended to include Jews from further afield. In a collaboration between the American Jewish Foundation and English Heritage, a species of daffodil with six-leaves was chosen to be planted over the grassy mound surrounding Clifford's Tower as an act of commemoration.⁸² The design was conceived by Israeli artist

⁸² Jeremy Ashbee (2017), Email to Toni Griffiths, 19 July.

Gyora Novak, who selected the flowers ‘to signal a connection to the Star of David, and because they bloom early... near the date of the massacre’ (cited by Thomas 2011: [online]). However, the impact of the significance of the design and intended purpose of the flowers to commemorate the events of 1190 has been limited as for twenty-five years little was known about them by the general public or English Heritage.⁸³

The daffodils on the mound of Clifford’s Tower represent how commemorative meaning can become complicated or lost without sufficient acknowledgement. For many years English Heritage was uncertain ‘whether they had a specific commemorative purpose connected with the 1190 massacre’, although based on the assumption that the daffodils ‘probably had commemorative significance’ they were looked after accordingly.⁸⁴ Finally, in 2011, in preparation for a public paper on the interpretation strategy of the organisation, English Heritage Interpretation Officer, David Thomas, discovered some of the answers to the outstanding queries about the daffodils. This was added to by a member of the public in 2015, who was able to provide new information regarding the artist’s identity and the rationale behind the design.⁸⁵ The importance of background information, in this case can be seen in that it gives substance to the purpose of the daffodils, and now English Heritage is equipped to the explain the role and significance of the flowers with certainty. Previously the daffodils were ‘not acknowledged or publicised at the site’ (Weinstein 2011: [online]), however this problem was rectified in 2016 and now reads ‘[t]he planting of daffodils – whose six-pointed shape echoes the Star of David – on the tower mound provides an annual memorial around the anniversary of the massacre’ (Ashbee 2016b: [online]).

Beyond the commemorative displays at Clifford’s Tower, there are also other public facing acknowledgements of the medieval Jewish history of York. The Tower currently houses a series of graphic display boards that were installed in 2004 which offer visitors a background of historical events from the site. The information panels were designed to a brief that required coverage of the ‘long history stretching back to the Norman Conquest’ (Thomas 2011: [online]). The history of the Tower spans across three boards, consisting of approximately 250, and out of these, six lines are devoted to the medieval Jews. Whilst this is a limited space in which to interpret this aspect of the Tower’s history, Weinstein notes that it ‘may be sufficient if the history of the massacre is not to be overemphasised within the long history of the site’ (Historyworks 2016: [online]). The limitations placed on the length of the display were also partially informed by annual statistics which

⁸³ Jeremy Ashbee (2017), Email to Toni Griffiths, 19 July.

⁸⁴ Jeremy Ashbee (2017), Email to Toni Griffiths, 19 July.

⁸⁵ Jeremy Ashbee (2017), Email to Toni Griffiths, 19 July.

demonstrated that out of the more than 110,000 annual visitors, many came only ‘for the view of the city from the top of the tower’ (Thomas 2011: [online]).

The compromises at Clifford’s Tower on the public dissemination of the history in conjunction with space limitations and visitor expectation are not unique; indeed, there is a strong resonance with the Great Hall in Winchester, as discussed in Chapter Four. Further, both sites also charge visitors to enter, thus providing a barrier to access medieval Jewish history for those who are not able to pay. However, unlike the Great Hall, Clifford’s Tower has increasingly provided supplementary information on the events of 1190, as a way of providing a greater context for visitors. Weinstein highlights these developments:

The 1987 guidebook held very little detail of the massacre and only dedicated six lines to describing it. The 1997 guidebook had two pages on the history of the Jews of medieval York more generally, describing the massacre in 1190 along with other things. In comparison, the... 2010 guidebook has two pages focusing on the events in 1190 alone (Historyworks 2016: [online]).

The challenge of interpreting and presenting the events of 1190 at Clifford’s Tower is acknowledged by heritage officials. David Thomas highlights that the current information about medieval Jewish history at the Tower on offer to visitors is limited, in that this aspect of history is ‘not particularly prominent’ (2011: [online]). Thomas demonstrates that there are inadequacies in how English Heritage has interpreted the martyrdom/massacre, as he notes that at present the focus is more on commemoration rather than explanation. Crucially he highlights gaps in the current display by noting that future interpretations will need to be cautious, so as ‘not to sensationalise the history of the massacre of the Jews’ and that such a development will be required to ‘include different voices and perspectives’ (2011: [online]).

The approach of English Heritage in how they publicly present medieval Jewish history at Clifford’s Tower has also been subject to academic criticism. Dobson asserts that the ‘transformation of the complex experience of the medieval Jewry into the simplified language of English Heritage and modern mass tourism... is not without its dangers’ (2010: 87-89). In this way, Dobson acknowledges the tensions between discussing the important details of the martyrdom/massacre of 1190, with the issues discussed above, such as limitations of space and visitor focus. Further, Dobson notes the challenges associated with focusing exclusively on one area of the Tower’s history. Similarly to Jewry Street in Winchester, as discussed in Chapter Four, a focus on remembering one aspect of history is

accompanied by a risk of omitting or forgetting another. Dobson notes that in York such a risk was realised by 'the English Heritage *Guide to Clifford's Tower and the Jews of Medieval York* [which] discusses the massacre in considerable detail but ignores the architectural history of Clifford's Tower almost completely' (2010: 87).

Dobson's criticism of the Clifford's Tower guidebook resulted in a productive dialogue between academia and English Heritage with practical solutions sought. Head Properties Curator for English Heritage, Jeremy Ashbee notes that Dobson's comments about the restrictive nature of *Clifford's Tower and the Jews of Medieval York* (2010: 87), were, ironically, missing some vital information, in that the publication existed as a supplement, 'explicitly about the massacre, and [designed to sit] alongside a more traditional guidebook'.⁸⁶ However, Ashbee highlights that Dobson's notes were taken into consideration for the development of the present version of the site's general guidebook, and efforts were made to 'talk about the massacre without neglecting the monument itself or the wider history of the site'.⁸⁷

Another area where academic criticism has been acknowledged and utilised by English Heritage is on the Clifford's Tower website. Until recently there was no mention of the fate of the Jews in 1190 or medieval Jewish history. Instead, it briefly mentioned 'the role of the bailey in William the Conqueror's fortification of York, the thirteenth century building of the stone keep... its role in the Pilgrimage of Grace (1536) and in the Civil War Siege of York (1644), and its nineteenth-century incorporation into York prison' (Bale 2013: 296). The focus on the structural and architectural history of the site, along with the positive impact of royal fortification resonates with the display gallery at Winchester's Great Hall, as both examples neglect to mention the more problematic histories relating to the sites and the local medieval Jewish community.

The complexities of representing medieval Anglo-Jewish history at prominent heritage sites, as demonstrated thus far in Chapters Four and Five, raises important questions regarding alternative approaches. The public recognition of the martyrdom/massacre at Clifford's Tower in 1190 that has been discussed above started in 1978 and has been significant in representing a changing of approach in York towards acknowledging local medieval Jewish history. However, contemporary evaluations of the history of Clifford's Tower by academics, members of the Jewish community, and English Heritage itself shows there is still much to be done. The challenge then is in the requirement for an almost

⁸⁶ Jeremy Ashbee (2016), Email to Toni Griffiths, 30 November.

⁸⁷ Jeremy Ashbee (2016), Email to Toni Griffiths, 30 November.

constant revaluation of how the history of such sites is interpreted and disseminated to its visitors. Therefore, it can be reasonably argued that it is better to present a problematic interpretation of Clifford's Tower rather than to omit it entirely; indeed, in a context of two competing approaches to *how* and *what* should be remembered, Rieff notes 'not to remember would be far worse and constitute what [French Philosopher [Vladimir] Jankélévitch called a "shameful amnesia"' (2016: 64). Such an assertion carries more weight when efforts are being made to reevaluate what is currently on display, and when the alternative has been to remain silent. This approach reflects the discussion in Chapter Four in the context of the Winchester Medieval Jewish Trail.

Prior to 1987, there was no public representation of medieval Jewish history at Clifford's Tower. In the context of the Shoah, John Lennon and Malcom Foley highlight why forgetting is not a viable alternative to remembering, as they warn such silence 'may encourage future generations to forget or ignore the incidence of this terrible period of human history' (2000: 32). In turn, this highlights the responsibility of English Heritage as the custodians of Clifford's Tower to preserve the public memory of medieval Jewish history within the greater remit of their mission and organisation. The role of English Heritage corresponds with ideas put forward by Seixas who asserts that public memory depends on sites of memory, as without them 'memory of a particular event or person fades from the public consciousness' (2006: 11).

Seixas' work on memory is informed by the work of Pierre Nora, who highlights the importance of sites of memory in that there are no longer 'milieux de memoire' or real environments of memory (1989: 8-9). The relevance of Nora's assertion can be found in that Clifford's Tower now stands as a representation, built from limestone and replacing the original wooden tower that burnt down in the martyrdom/massacre. However, this description of the Tower is, as Rees Jones' asserts, not entirely accurate as whilst the:

stone tower does stand on the site of a previous wooden castle keep, which stood on top of a smaller earth motte at the centre of a castle... scholars have long known that even this is simply a best guess for identifying the royal 'arx' at the centre of William of Newburgh's narrative [about the events of 1190] (2013: 1).

With the actual site of the martyrdom/massacre lost to history, there is additional meaning in Nora highlighting that for a site of memory to be maintained, active participation is crucial, as 'there is no [longer] spontaneous memory', thus it must be 'deliberately' created as 'such activities no longer occur naturally' (1989: 11).

The need to reevaluate and invest in medieval Jewish history at Clifford's Tower has been recognised by English Heritage in recent years (English Heritage 2016). The 2016 presentation was described on the organisation's website 'as far from ideal [as it] does not reflect the site's importance, both nationally and within the city of York [and there] is very little interpretation' (English Heritage 2016: [online]). The first stage of redevelopment focused on the Clifford's Tower website, which, as mentioned above, now refers to the medieval Jews in the section on the history of the tower (Ashbee 2016a: [online]). The online alterations demonstrate receptiveness to calls for change, particularly in how medieval Jewish history is presented in the public sphere, and in turn, recognises that information online has the ability to reach more visitors than actual footfall. Further, this approach reflects a wider focus by the organisation on difficult pasts, previously untold histories and histories that need to be better represented by the heritage sector. This is also reflected elsewhere, such as the website changes and new exhibition on the role of Portchester Castle as a black prisoner of war camp between 1783 and 1814 (Coppins 2017).

The recent changes in the approach of English Heritage towards more inclusive interactions with contemporary Jewish communities also reflect the recent separation of English Heritage into two different bodies: English Heritage and Historic England. As of April 2015, the former became an independent charity designed to look after the National Heritage Collection (English Heritage 2015: [online]), run by an organisation of paid and volunteer staff (DCMS 2003: 21). Meanwhile, Historic England 'continues the statutory role of giving expert, constructive advice to owners, local authorities and the public, and championing the wider historic environment' (English Heritage 2015: [online]) and remains within the public sector, accountable to 'Ministers and Parliament' (DCMS 2003: 21). The new status enables English Heritage 'to grow with greater freedom' than before, and there are plans for it to become self-funded by 2022/23 (English Heritage 2015: [online]). Frank notes the significance of transitioning from public to private funding as freeing the presentation of heritage 'from the public-academic monopoly' (2016: 41). Frank also highlights the dangers of privately funded heritage organisations, suggesting that there becomes a tendency 'to reorganise... exhibitions following the principles of "entertainment instead of education"', and to:

no longer [focus] on originals, on material historical objects or the source-based academic presentation of historical "facts", but rather on the representation of historical material in the form of spectacular, easily consumable, experience - and emotion-orientated, relatable, and meaningful narratives of the past (2016: 41-42).

The risks discussed by Frank are pertinent to the new direction of English Heritage, as their updated 'About Us' webpage states that they 'offer a hands-on experience that will inspire and entertain' and their enduring values include descriptions such as 'imagination' and 'fun' (English Heritage 2018: [online]). Such values resonate with the Horrible Histories approach discussed in the Literature Review and thus highlight tensions between education and entertainment, as well as raising questions about the purpose of heritage (see Literature Review). However, other English Heritage values include 'authenticity', 'quality' and 'responsibility' (English Heritage n.d.: [online]), and whilst the organisation aspires to full government autonomy, issues of authority and ownership are complicated by the presence of other stakeholders who have direct input into how history is represented by English Heritage. Foucault emphasises 'there is no power relation without the relative constitution of a field of knowledge nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute... power relations' (1977: 27). English Heritage is the custodian for over 400 historic buildings, monuments, and sites, and is thus responsible for the design and content of historic interpretations. However, the power does not completely belong to them, as public facing representations are constructed through an interdisciplinary and collaborative methodology, which draws on the knowledge and advice of 'curators, conservators, historians, educational specialists, and marketing departments' (Thomas 2011: [online]). Further, the organisation is supported by voluntary donor contributions and interpretations are tailor made with a specific focus on its audiences (Thomas 2011: [online]).

In the context of Clifford's Tower, the contributions of different stakeholders can be seen in the approach of English Heritage towards the designs for physical redevelopments of the site. The proposed plans include 'a new visitor's centre, nestling into the mound at ground level', as well as a 'platform on the tower's roof so that people can better enjoy the spectacular views over the city' (English Heritage 2016: [online]). As part of the design process, English Heritage employed an independent company, Historyworks that 'prides itself on bridging the gap between knowledge and public engagement' (Historyworks 2012: [online]). Historyworks devised a series of stakeholder events and a supplementary online survey aimed at the general public, with a view to 'gain deeper insight into... attitudes towards York heritage issues and the presentation and understanding of Clifford's Tower and the longer story of a Jewish presence in York from the 1100s to now' (Weinstein 2017: [online]). In an approach that resonates with the recent collaborations in Winchester, as explored in Chapter Four, one of the primary objectives of the stakeholder events was to involve representatives of the Jewish community, locally and further afield, to discuss plans for the site and receive suggestions of 'what they wished to see in any future presentation and interpretation of the

site’.⁸⁸ The local Jewish community in York includes a growing group of Liberal Jews and represents the first organised Jewish presence in York since the Aldwark synagogue closed in 1975 (Sherwood 2015). Ashbee asserts that as a result of English Heritage’s current research and the inclusion of local and broader Jewish input, it is hoped that the redeveloped Clifford’s Tower and its associated texts will reflect ‘the repeated message... that the story of 1190 must be told clearly, but must be placed within a wider context, and should not become the exclusive of even dominant narrative in [the] interpretation’.⁸⁹

In October 2016 English Heritage’s new plans for Clifford’s Tower were approved by York City Council, however, progress on the redevelopment of the site has since been stalled due to strong objections from members of the public.⁹⁰ The case was taken to the High Court based on concerns that English Heritage had not adhered to planning guidelines and assertions that ‘there had been a failure to assess the significance of Clifford’s Tower and its setting’ (Reeder 2017: [online]). Although these claims were rejected by the court, work has yet to begin on the site and on 7 June 2018 English Heritage announced the redevelopment of Clifford’s Tower would not go ahead (Anon 2018a). The public objections to the plans for Clifford’s Tower demonstrate a wider and ongoing interest, as well as protective and even authoritative attitude from the public towards the heritage site; in this instance, the public did not want the mound that Clifford’s Tower sits on altered in any way (Anon 2018b). Similarly, in 2000 there were protests by members of the public against plans to redevelop the Coppergate Centre, a city-centre retail scheme, in part due to its close proximity to Clifford’s Tower (The Castle Area Campaign 2003a). Protestors included Jews and non-Jews from across the globe, from Los Angeles to Normandy (Rutstein 2000; The Castle Area Campaign 2003b), asserting that the shopping centre threatened to bury and forget Clifford’s Tower’s historical significance ‘amid the crowded shops and “indifferent” shoppers’ (Rutstein 2000: [online]). As a result of the public objections an inquiry was launched and in 2003 the scheme was rejected by the government (Anon 2003b). Further plans were submitted in 2009, however, these were not as extensive as the initial redevelopment design that was turned down in 2003 (Anon 2009a).

English Heritage’s plans to redevelop Clifford’s Tower will render current assessments of heritage interpretations on the site out of date (e.g. Dobson 2003; Bale 2013; Narin van Court 2013). The website on Clifford’s Tower and the tourist literature related to it will thus require a fresh evaluation; the same is true for the cities elsewhere in England where changes are taking place in how medieval

⁸⁸ Jeremy Ashbee (2016), Email to Toni Griffiths, 04 August.

⁸⁹ Jeremy Ashbee (2016), Email to Toni Griffiths, 04 August.

⁹⁰ Jeremy Ashbee (2017), Email to Toni Griffiths, 19 July.

Anglo-Jewish history is being represented, as has been explored in Chapter Three on Winchester and the Medieval Jewish Trail. Indeed, there has also been a call for the historical evaluations of heritage sites in a boarder context as a result of the emergence of Public History and its impact on the relationship between Heritage and History. Indeed, Public History is a term that is now expected to be understood, embraced and integrated in varying degrees into all components of Historians' work (Sayer 2015:1), as Historian Faye Sayer points out:

[c]ritically, public history... is not history becoming heritage, but is a merging of the two [and as] such, public history enables history to be valuable to a broad audience and to have significance in the present, beyond the creation of knowledge, providing broader social, political, and economic value (2015:1).

The current representation of history and heritage at Clifford's Tower reveals tensions between commercial operation and historical significance due to the multi-functional purpose of the site. It is both a memorial and a heritage/educational tourist destination, adequately portrayed in the juxtaposition of the commemorative plaque to the Jews who died in 1190, and the English Heritage signage placed alongside it detailing opening times and admission fees (Historyworks 2010). The information that is provided at Clifford's Tower about medieval Jewish history focuses on a dominant narrative of trauma and victimisation. Public historian Helen Weinstein notes that the current display offers visitors a summary of 'how the Jewish community came to die under royal protection when the Castle was laid under siege and set fire by a mob on 16th March 1190' (Historyworks 2016: [online]). The focus is exclusively on the violence of the martyrdom/massacre and does not offer the reader any wider context to the events (such as the choice of martyrdom over murder), or the lives of the Jewish community in York. This arguably offers a one-dimensional view of medieval Anglo-Jewish life as characterised by a focus on the negative aspects of their history. The approach of English Heritage in this context can be seen as responsive to a popular trend in Dark Tourism 'that is, travel to sites associated with death, disaster or the seemingly macabre' with Dark Tourism 'provid[ing] a contemporary lens through which the commodification of death may be glimpsed' (Roberts and Stone 2014: 9). Further demonstration of Dark Tourism at the Tower can be found in English Heritage's use of the term 'Bloody Massacre' referring to the events of 1190 in a handout and also as part of listing on a placard on the site. The latter has been criticised by English scholar, Elisa Narin van Court, who notes that the term featured on a list of attractions at the site which also included 'Gift Shop'; she asserts that the contrast between these two titles demonstrate 'a fine adjudication between exploitation and commerce' (Narin van Court 2008: 9).

In 2011, an English Heritage representative presented a public paper at the University of York's Institute for the Public Understanding of the Past's (IPUP) seminar series: Navigating the Past. The paper was given the title, 'Walking on the Dead: Marketing and interpreting traumatic history, the case of Clifford's Tower' (Thomas: 2011: [online]). The first words of the title reflect a theme of Dark Tourism through a focus on 'the relationship between tourism and death' (Sharpley 2009: 10), highlighting Clifford's Tower historically as the site where many lost their lives, but also in a contemporary context where many come to visit or walk. The remainder of the title acknowledges the entanglement of promoting and selling the Tower's history, with the obligation to educate and cultivate understanding of the site's historical significance.

Although the 2011 paper demonstrates a Dark Tourism slant to the way English Heritage presents medieval Jewish history in York, it also highlights that the organisation actively avoids, what has been discussed in Chapter Two, as a 'Horrible Histories' approach. Thomas notes "first-person tours', re-enactment-style events or ghost tours concerning the events of 1190 are not likely to take place, as it is necessary to respect the sensitivity of the subject and the site' (Thomas 2011: [online]). Tensions are further illustrated by the charge of an admission fee for non-English Heritage members, necessary due to the financial implications of preserving the site as a historic landmark, as well as maintaining its role as a tourist centre. However, the entrance charge can equally be considered as inappropriate due to the site's role as a memorial; Richard Sharpley and Philip Stone assert that it is 'unacceptable to profit from the dead, particularly those dying from infamous acts of violence' (2009: 87). There are also other places associated with Jewish history where there has been debate over admission fees, such as the concentration and extermination camp Auschwitz in Poland, which similarly to Clifford's Tower acts both as a memorial and historical site. However, the context of Clifford's Tower is complicated by the fact that, as previously mentioned, the substantial proportion of visitors go for the view from the Tower, rather than for its significant role in medieval Anglo-Jewish, or any other history.

Themes of Dark Tourism are continued in York by the city tour guide company Yorkwalk, established in 1990 (Yorkwalk 2018a). A specific 'Jewish Heritage Trail' is available and is described as a 'special walk' which only takes place several times a year, although can be run as part of a prearranged "private tour" (Yorkwalk 2018b: [online]). Yorkwalk is a tourism company that charges for their services, asserting that they enable customers to '[e]xplore parts of York that other tours miss!' (2018a: [online]). It is not possible to preview the tours, although Dark Tourism is evident as the 'Jewish Heritage Trail' features on the same page as the 'Bloody Execution Tour' and the 'Graveyard,

Coffin & Crypt Tour' (Yorkwalk 2018b: [online]). The success of the company's presentation of the walking tours in recognising the public's desire for such an approach is reflected in an article in the *Telegraph*, titled 'York: Weekend to Remember' (Pozzi 2002: [online]). The piece states that 'York is full of ghost stories, and there are several ghostly walking tours of the city. There is also a Jewish Heritage Walk, a Graveyard Tour, a Guy Fawkes Trail, a Historic Toilet Tour' (Pozzi 2002: [online]). Whilst undoubtedly, Yorkwalk's approach is popular with its customers, as they are '[n]ow proudly in [their] 28th year!' (2018a: [online]), an article in *The Press* notes the desire from Jewish audiences for a more substantial and complete history of the Jews in York (Rutstein 2000: [online]).

In recent years there have been attempts elsewhere to move away from Dark Tourism, and Horrible History style approaches, such as those on the Yorkwalks, in the public representation of York's medieval Jewish history. This is demonstrated by the work of York Museums Trust in partnership with IPUP. In 2012, the two organisations launched a web-based app featuring 'a map that includes "detailed information about what happened in 1190, but most importantly, is designed to introduce the public to the longer story of Jewish settlement in the city from the 12th to the 21st century"' (Garner 2012: [online]). The creators of the app state that it was designed to challenge previous negatively-biased history, to ensure that there is an accessible source that explains there is more to the York's medieval Jewish community than the 1190 martyrdom/massacre. Weinstein notes:

One of the myths I wanted to overturn in the new app is that Jews never again settled in the city after the 1190 massacre... those following the sites on the app will have a much fuller picture of Jewish settlement in the city, especially filling in the gap in public knowledge about the Jewish community in the 20th and 21st Century (cited by Garner 2012: [online]).

The significance of this approach can be found in the focus on the broader contexts of medieval Jewish history in York, and the contrast with previous presentations of this aspect of history elsewhere, such as Clifford's Tower.

Weinstein and the other developers of the app highlight that another objective of the app was to dispel 'one of the most pervasive myths of Anglo Jewry, that of the Cherem of York' (Pfeffer 2012: [online]). The origins of the myth, a prohibition against Jews resettling in the city post the 1190 massacres/martyrdom, have proven impossible to identify, but believers of the myth claim that 'no Jew could eat or spend the night inside the city walls' (York Museums Trust 2016: [online]). The publication of a *Cherem* on a town was not unheard of in medieval England, as in 1266 the *kehillah*⁹¹

⁹¹ In medieval England the *kehillah* 'was endowed with a broad range of powers... to govern all facets of communal life autonomously under Jewish law' (Lupovitch 2007: 136).

issued a ban on settlement in Canterbury that stated, 'no Jew of any other town dwell in this town, to wit no liar, improper person or informer' (D'Israeli 1863: 79). If a similar publication was made relating to York then it was not adhered to by all Jewish communities, as after the martyrdom/massacre 'a medieval Jewish population returned to and for a short while flourished at York and a modern congregation emerged in the late nineteenth century' (Watson 2016: 1). Indeed, Jewish authorities 'disagree as to whether residence in York has ever been subject to an official ban' (Dobson 2010: 50). Nonetheless, as recently as 2010 Dobson noted that there were 'a handful of Orthodox Jews [who still] actively discourage their children from coming to settle – even to study – in a city which brought their predecessors so much pain' (Dobson 2010: 31).

The objective of the app to dispel the *Charem* myth demonstrates the acknowledgement and partial focus on a specific Jewish audience and therefore acknowledges the important role of Jewish stakeholders in this aspect of history. The increasing importance of this role as contributor and audience has also been demonstrated by the involvement of representatives of Jewish communities during the design process of the Clifford's Tower redevelopments, as mentioned above. With this in mind, it is important to consider how language is used in the public representation of medieval Jewish history and the associations of certain terminology for members of the Jewish community. The difficulties associated with 'correct' terminology is highlighted by Lennon and Foley in the context of the Shoah, as they note there 'are major problems for the language utilised in interpretation to adequately convey the horrors of the camps. Consequently, and because of the presence of historical records, visual representation is extensively used' (2000:28). However, the lack of visual representation such as imagery relating to the events of 1190 means that the organisations dealing with this aspect of history, such as English Heritage, are more reliant on words. The following will now explore the significance of the term 'massacre' and how it has been used in place of alternatives such as 'martyrdom' or 'suicide'.

The term 'massacre' prominently features in English Heritage's representations of the medieval Jewish history of Clifford's Tower, for example, the previously mentioned 'Bloody massacre' placard, the title of the webpage 'The Massacre at Clifford's Tower' (Ashbee 2016b: [online]), and within the current guidebook by Jonathan Clark, *Clifford's Tower and the Castle of York* (2010: 3, 22-4). The use of the term reflects its academic use in publications such as Dobson's Borthwick paper 'The Jews of Medieval York and the Massacre of March 1190' (1974), Cecil Roth's *A History of the Jews in England* (1974), and the 2010 international conference 'York 1190: Jews and Others in the Wake of Massacre'. As previously noted, Dobson's work on York is substantial and definitive, thus during the initial

research for the display panels and other interpretations at the Tower, his work was consulted as a primary resource by English Heritage researchers.⁹²

Although the term 'massacre' has been in regular use, there are notable problems associated with it, as it removes Jewish agency and enforces the one-dimensional image of Jews only as victims, powerless and with no control. 'Massacre' also limits how the events of March 1190 are represented, in that it does not refer to the whole story; the actual massacre took place the morning following the mass suicide/martyrdom of the Jews inside the Tower. The current panel at Clifford's Tower acknowledges the need for additional information in this context, as it also includes the term 'suicide', it reads:

In March 1190, there were riots against the Jewish community of York. Many Jews took shelter in the wooden tower but came under heavy attack from the citizens and several local knights. Rather than be captured and killed, around 150 Jews, numbering men, women and children, set fire to the tower and committed suicide: those who survived were later massacred by the rioters (History works 2011).

The linguistic arrangement echoes the inscription on the commemorative plaque which reads:

On the night of Friday 16 March 1190 some 150 Jews and Jewesses of York, having sought protection in the royal castle on this site from a mob incited by Richard Malebisse and others, chose to die at each other's hands rather than renounce their faith. **ישימו ליהוה כבוד ותהלתו**. באיים יגידו. Isaiah XLII 12.⁹³

This plaque demonstrates that there also challenges faced by focusing on the term 'suicide', as it omits recognition of the ensuing massacre of the survivors. In addition, Bale notes that the Hebrew prayer that concludes the inscription but is not translated into English, only 'addresses memory to observant Jews' (2013: 297). The lack of translation subsequently narrows the audience for this part of the plaque, to those who can read Hebrew; a similar restriction is demonstrated through the recital of the *Kaddish* prayer during Holocaust Memorial Day ceremonies at Clifford's Tower.

The notable difference in the terminology employed by the English Heritage Display and the commemorative plaque is the use of the term 'suicide'. Whilst the plaque acknowledges that the Jews in Clifford's Tower in 1190 'chose to die at each other's hands', the display states that they 'committed suicide'. Both actions determine an element of agency over the situation where the conscious decision made by the victims that is not acknowledged by the use of 'massacre'. However,

⁹² Jeremy Ashbee (2017), Email to Toni Griffiths, 31 January.

⁹³ Clifford's Tower, York (2010), Commemorative Plaque for the Jewish Massacre/Martyrdom 1190, 10 March.

when used exclusively they also potentially reduce the focus on the perpetrators who murdered the surviving Jews the next day. There are further complications with the term 'suicide' as in Jewish law it is considered sinful; Jewish tradition dictates that life belongs to God and that all births and deaths are at his consent, thus 'Judaism does not consider the individual as the owner or unlimited master of his own life' (Werblowsky and Wigoder 1965: 367). Consequently, traditional Jewish perspectives on suicide, which are based on *Bereishit - Genesis* 9: 5, view the act as amounting 'to murder [thus it] is strictly forbidden' (Saaz 2002:13). However, there are some Jewish traditions that allow for instances of suicide by not categorising them as such, for example, if 'an individual takes his or her own life because of mental or physical pain and anguish' (Sherwin 2000: 51). There are also other cases of 'the prohibition against suicide [being] clearly set aside', most notably to this case study, 'in cases of martyrdom' (Sherwin 2000: 51). The perception of martyrdom over suicide in the context of Clifford's Tower is evident in the final line of the memorial tablet which dedicates the actions of the Jews at Clifford's Tower to God; the English translation from Hebrew reads: 'Let them do honour [or respect] [to the Lord], and tell His glory in the coastlands [or islands]' (Bale 2013: 296).

The martyrdom/massacre of the Jews in York in 1190 is one of two examples highlighted by *The Encyclopaedia of the Jewish Religion* as 'accepted' acts of suicide, as committed by Jewish fighters and martyrs 'to escape the hand of the enemy and the threat of slavery or apostasy' (Werblowsky and Wigoder 1965: 367). The second example is a similar event that took place in Masada in 73/74 C.E. Jewish Historian Flavius Josephus, recorded how several hundred Jews took their own lives whilst defending the fortress during the Jewish War, rather than be captured and enslaved by the Romans (1987: 389-406). The two events were also combined by the chronicler of the martyrdom/massacre at Clifford's Tower, William of Newburgh, who used Josephus' account of the deaths 'of the Jews... to understand and interpret the catastrophe that took place at York (Jacobs 1893: 125-7). More recently Bale described the events using the term 'York Masada' (2013: 294).

The similarities between Masada and York are, however, disputed by Hillaby, who highlights that although:

Newburgh was correct in so far as he identified the mass suicide of many of the York Jews as a response to the threat of conversion... their inspiration came, not from Josephus and the events at Masada, but from Yom Tov and the martyrs of Blois (2010: x)

Indeed, it was Rabbi Yom Tov of Joigny who 'exhorted his fellow Jews in York to commend themselves to God, rather than die in enemy hands' (Einbinder 2002: 29). In Blois in 1171, more than thirty Jews were burned to death 'following a charge of ritual murder' (Rist 2016: 39), the first accusation of its

kind in continental Europe. The events in Blois, central France, would have been a more recent memory to the Jewish community of York and such allegations were familiar to English Jews following the first ritual murder accusation that took place in Norwich in 1144, as will be discussed in Chapter Six.

Traditionally, Judaism does not encourage martyrdom, rather it militates against it. However, there is an 'ideal' of martyrdom which 'stems from the AKEDAH, God's test of Abraham through a command to offer up his only son Isaac; in that case the sacrifice was not exacted... essentially martyrdom represents the willingness to make such a sacrifice' (Werblowsky and Wigoder 1965: 252). The definition of martyrdom is expanded in *The Encyclopaedia of Jewish Religion* to explain that 'in times of religious persecution, when the observance of Law becomes a public demonstration of religious loyalty, the Jew was obliged to submit to martyrdom rather than transgress even the most insignificant commandment' (Werblowsky and Wigoder 1965: 252).

As with 'massacre' and 'suicide', the term 'martyrdom' is also complex. In order to fulfil an act of martyrdom, the participant is required to go calmly to their death with the name of God on their lips, and with a 'joy that they could give their life for God' (Katz 1983: 141-173). Steven Katz illustrates this with the example of the Ostrovzer Rebbe, Rabbi Yehezkiel ha-Levi Hastuk who 'went to out meet his Nazi executioners wearing his *tallit* and *kittel*, and before he was shot he announced: For some time now I have anticipated this *zehkut* (special merit) (of *Kiddush Ha-Shem*). I am prepared' (1983: 141-173). However, in the chronicle *History of the English*, by William of Newburgh, highlights that not all Jews were prepared to take their own lives or those of their children (1853-58: 570). Instead, they 'tried to avoid death by seeking conversion' (Abulafia 2011: 160). Further, William of Newburgh asserts that 'the men whose minds were more firm [killed] their wives and children. Josce, with a very sharp knife, cut the throat of Anna, his most beloved wife, and spared not even his own children' first (1853-58: 570),⁹⁴ suggesting that in particular, the mothers in this scenario would have been unlikely to be able to bring themselves to commit the act of martyrdom by taking the lives of their children. Melissa Raphael, in a critique of post-Shoah theodicies, highlights the contrast between observant Jewish men who may have been able to 'dance and sing, rejoicing in their opportunity to die for *Kiddush Ha'Shem*' (2003: 23), and women who were mothers, 'perhaps holding a baby in her arms and with terrified children clinging to her legs', questioning whether they 'could have died that fully Jewish death' (2003: 23). Therefore, the issue of martyrdom at York is problematised by focusing on

⁹⁴ The original Latin reads: '*amosissimus ille Joceus Annae uxori carissimae cultro praeacuto guttur incidit, et propriis quoque filiis non pepercit*' (William of Newburgh 1884: 320-2).

the different roles of individual victims at the Tower, within the context of gender and emotional family connection.

The term *Kiddush Ha'Shem* (sanctification of the Divine Name, i.e.: a death which honours rather than dishonours God) is often applied to descriptions of Clifford's Tower (e.g. Bale 2006: 15: 254; Watson 2013: 2; Lampert-Weissig 2018). However, for English Heritage to use it in a public interpretation of medieval Jewish history, supplementary terms such as 'massacre' would also be required in order to acknowledge the full scale of events, as with the terms 'martyrdom' and 'suicide' as explored above. The original meaning of *Kiddush Ha'Shem* was broadly 'to show respect to God by one's behaviour toward his sanctuary and his priesthood (Leviticus 21-22)' (Maccoby 2009: 849). However, it has since been narrowed in its definition to 'mainly one thing: martyrdom in Judaism' (Maccoby 2009: 849). Hyman Maccoby highlights that the application of *Kiddush Ha'Shem* in the context of martyrdom is representative of the most extreme situations 'in which the right action can be performed only at the cost of one's life' (2009: 852). Maccoby also notes, however, that in the context of the Shoah this definition was turned on its head by the halakhic ruling 'that during the Nazi era the truest *Kiddush Ha'Shem* was to preserve one's life if possible, since the Nazi aim was to not only destroy the Jewish religion but the Jews themselves' (2009: 853); the emphasis is on preserving as opposed to taking life.

Beyond the Jewish religious context, there are also other complications relating to the exclusive use of 'martyrdom' as the term relating to the fate of the Jews at Clifford's Tower in 1190. Ashbee highlights that using 'martyrdom' could create potential complications for English Heritage due to events in recent years that have tainted the term 'by the experience of modern acts of terrorism, especially the phenomenon of the suicide-bomber'.⁹⁵ Thus, in the current climate, the term 'martyrdom' has, for some, taken on new meaning. Although not necessarily a universal perception, communities who support the actions of 'suicide-bombers' now frequently use the term 'martyrdom' in the context of the 'religiously-motivated deaths of extremist and violent individuals', and this directly contrasts with the situation of the 150 Jews in Clifford's Tower, who took their own lives to avoid forced conversion to Christianity, in March 1190.⁹⁶

Moving away from Clifford's Tower, it is important to acknowledge another site in York that has significance to both medieval Jewish history and memory: the medieval Jewish cemetery known as Jewbury (see Figure 8). In 1982, plans to redevelop the suspected site of the burial ground into a

⁹⁵ Jeremy Ashbee (2017), Email to Toni Griffiths, 31 January.

⁹⁶ Jeremy Ashbee (2017), Email to Toni Griffiths, 31 January.

Plan 14 Plan of York, from J. Speed, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* (1611)

Source: © University of Bristol Library Special Collections.

supermarket and carpark prompted trial excavations by the York Archaeological Trust to determine its size and exact location. Investigations of the site were conducted with permission from the then-Chief Rabbi of the Orthodox Jewish community, Immanuel Jakobovits, with the understanding that any discovered remains would not be exposed further or removed (Addyman 1994: 298). However, preliminary findings did not provide any certainty in identifying the burials as Jewish: the alignment of the graves did not conform to the expected tradition of west-east, facing Jerusalem (Hillaby and Hillaby 2013: 92); coffins were constructed using iron nails, contrasting to the traditional preference of wooden pegs (Isaacs and Isaacs 2005: 63; Hillaby and Hillaby 2013: 92); and no tombstones were found, which conflicts with the Jewish burial custom of honouring the deceased with a stone, usually at the head of the grave (Goldstein 2012).⁹⁷

With the identity of the site as the medieval Jewish burial ground brought into question by the lack of expected discoveries relating to Jewish burial traditions, the decision was taken to remove the human remains from their current location due to the potential damage that could be incurred during the process of foundational building works. As a result of the unclear findings relating to the identity of the remains, the case was referred to the London *Beth Din*, a Jewish court of law. The subsequent ruling was that there was ‘no positive proof [to determine] that this [was] the actual site of the Jewish cemetery or that the human remains found on this site [were] positively of Jewish origin’ (Addyman 1994: 299).

Although the *Beth Din* had ruled the human remains were not identifiably Jewish, the preservation and protection of the unidentified cemetery remained a prominent issue. In 1983, larger scale excavations took place on the area under threat by redevelopment, equating to approximately half of the cemetery, leaving the remaining half undisturbed. The exhumed remains were taken to the University of York for examination by Biologist Mark Williamson and Archaeologist Don Brothwell, and beyond that for storage until reburial as per guidelines determined by the Ministry of Justice (Parkin 1983a, OSSA Freelance 2012: 9). However, during this time, ‘documentary evidence confirmed that the Jewbury cemetery was the medieval Jewish cemetery’ (McComish 2000: 22); thus, the opportunity to study the excavated human remains promised a new impetus to knowledge of medieval Jewish life and death. Dobson asserts that at ‘first sight ideological relations between Jews and Christians would seem likely to be a topic much illuminated by [the Jewbury excavations]’ (2010: 89). In addition, Archaeologist Jane McComish notes that it was hoped the remains would reveal

⁹⁷ It should be noted that five burials did ‘have evidence for wooden markers, and... other wooden markers were machined away at the start of the excavation’ (Hillaby and Hillaby 2013: 92); the significance of these markers was discussed in Chapter Four.

insights into ‘the population size, life expectancy, and health [as well as] distinctive dietary traditions of the Jewish community [and] patterns of disease... compared with their Christian neighbours’ (2000: 22). Further, there was also the possibility of discovering tangible evidence of the community, an element that was (and remains) significantly lacking in the study and representation of medieval Jewish history.

Ambitions to study the remains in-depth were stalled, however when representations by members of the public and Jewish communities were made to the York Archaeological Trust and to the Chief Rabbi. Complaints noted that ‘contrary to the advice of the Beth Din the remains were almost certainly Jewish’, and as such ‘re-internment by methods stipulated by the Jewish religious authorities, ought to be followed’ (Addyman 1994: 300). Amongst the representations to the Chief Rabbi there were also strong protests from a Jewish Haredi group in Gateshead after information about the excavations had been published in the media (e.g. Parkin 1983b) (Rahtz 1985: 44). Consequently, the bodies were transferred to the custody of the Manchester *Beth Din* and were kept at a Jewish mortuary there, until a site for internment as close as possible to the original burial ground was ready in York. In 1984, the exhumed remains were then ritually reburied in a ceremony overseen by Chief Rabbi Jakobovits and members of York’s Jewish community (Rahtz 1985: 44).

Issues concerning ownership and authority over Jewish human remains are clearly identifiable in this case, by the tensions between Archaeologists and Jewish groups over the desire for conflicting outcomes: further study and reburial. The subsequent removal of the human remains from the University into the custody of the Manchester morgue, and the following reinternment identifies the Jewish communities as the dominant stakeholder. Further, Marcus Roberts, the founder of the National Anglo-Jewish Heritage Trail organisation, known as JTrails, argues that the role of the Jewish groups was more forceful in swaying the course of events. Roberts asserts that the objections of the Gateshead group were echoed by another Haredi group from Manchester, who purportedly went to the archaeological site posing as representatives of the Chief Rabbi’s office and demanded that the remains be handed over to them.⁹⁸ The remains were then taken to a Jewish mortuary in Manchester whereby the Chief Rabbi was forced to accept their identity as Jewish and rebury them accordingly.⁹⁹

Roberts’ account of events at Jewbury from excavation to reburial contrast with the official published report, *The Jewish Burial Ground at Jewbury* (Lilley *et al* 1994). Crucially, one of the contributors to

⁹⁸ Marcus Roberts, Director of JTrails and Local Historian (2016), Interview with Toni Griffiths, 30 June.

⁹⁹ Marcus Roberts (2016), Interview with Toni Griffiths, 30 June.

the published report Archaeologist Peter Addyman concurs with Roberts that ‘the remains were temporarily removed... to the Jewish mortuary at Manchester and returned for reburial in the presence of the Chief Rabbi and a number of other rabbis’ (1994: 300). However, Addyman notes such actions were a response to representations made by the Jewish community and were enacted under the guidance and stipulation of the Home Office, who ‘required [the] immediate reburial’ of the remains (1994: 300). Further, Archaeologist Jane McComish (Chief Editor of the published report), was the third supervisor of the excavation and on site every day, and asserts in direct response to Roberts’ account, that there:

was certainly never any occasion during the excavations that Ultra-Orthodox Jews came to the site in a van and demanded the human remains... the remains were transferred to a Jewish mortuary in Manchester at some stage during the post-excavation process [but this] would have been in compliance with instructions from the Home Office. Human remains can only be excavated and analysed under Home Office licences and you have to do exactly what you are told to do with the human remains in question. You can’t just give human remains away. You certainly can’t just give human remains to someone who turns up in a van and demands them. It would be illegal to do so.¹⁰⁰

During the excavations at Jewbury in 1982-3, the protocol that advised how to deal with rediscovered human remains was guided by the two predominant legislative acts. Firstly, Section 25 of the Burial Act (1857), which states ‘[b]odies [are] not to be removed from burial grounds, save under faculty, without licence of Secretary of State’. A ‘Burial License’ should be sought under this Act in advance of an archaeological excavation where ‘there is reasonable expectation that human remains would be encountered’ (White 2011: 486), however, it can also be applied for retrospectively. And, secondly, the Disused Burial Act 1884 (Amended in 1981), which applies ‘[i]f the development site is a recognised burial ground but is not consecrated and human remains will be disturbed as the result of the construction of a building that is not an extension to a church, or as a result of non-building-related works’ (OSSA Freelance 2012: 4). The Home Office transferred many of its functions to the Ministry of Justice in 2007 and the governmental authority over issuing licenses for archaeological excavations remains prominent; Ministry of Justice official Rekha Gohil highlights that ‘[h]uman remains which are buried and then uncovered or disturbed are protected by law [thus] [t]he Secretary of State for Justice has a number of responsibilities and duties under burial legislation’ (2016).

¹⁰⁰ Jane McComish, Archaeologist (2017), Email to Toni Griffiths, 10 January.

The conflicting series of events as presented by Roberts presents a third account to dealing with the complex situation of Jewish human remains. However, the accuracy of this additional version is questionable, as, in order to be credible, it requires experienced archaeologists to have deliberately broken the law in handing the remains over without a license to do so, and this is highly unlikely. Further, the recollection of events by Roberts has a great deal of similarity to those in Winchester, which occurred some years later and were discussed in Chapter Four. Notably, the remains in Winchester had already been excavated and transferred for storage under possession of the Museum Services before the Haredi became involved. At this stage of the process a museum has the authority to deal with requests concerning the appropriate care or return of human remains 'on a case-by-case basis' (The Department for Culture Media and Sport [DCMS] 2005: 230); thus, the law was not broken in Winchester.

By identifying McComish and Addyman's series of events as accurate, the action taken by the Haredi Jews at York can be utilised to inform what then took place at Winchester. McComish's account saw the Haredi group from Gateshead communicating with the Chief Rabbi regarding the human remains in York, through the representations they made expressing concerns over the identity of the bones. Whereas, Roberts' account saw the Haredi group from Manchester forcibly take the bones from Winchester Museum Services against the recommendation of the Orthodox Chief Rabbi, and immediately rebury them in Rainsough Cemetery. Therefore, the deliberation and tensions evident in York over the identity of the remains and what to do with them is suggestive of why more decisive action was taken by the Haredi group in Winchester.

At the time of the Jewbury excavations, there were no official guidelines for good practice in the treatment and analysis of human bones. As such, they became 'something of an object lesson in the reconciliation of legal, archaeological, scientific, religious, ethical and developmental requirements' (Addyman 1994: 298). The reason for the lack of guidelines was partially because in the UK 'far fewer skeletons were considered to be at risk of repatriation and/or reburial because they were predominantly of obvious UK origin' (White 2011: 481).¹⁰¹ Further 'the majority of archaeological excavations involving human remains in the UK were 'rescue' or 'salvage' related, rather than research driven' (Roberts, C. 2009: 17-18).

¹⁰¹ The Church of England and English Heritage (now Historic England), have since issued a *Guidance for Best Practice for the Treatment of Human Remains* (2005), and the DCMS have issued *Guidance for the Care of Human Remains in Museums* (2005).

The impact of interventions by, and involvement of, representatives of Jewish communities in the Jewbury excavations (and the lesser known situation in Winchester), can be seen as part of a catalyst for change towards British legislation becoming increasingly politically significant. Don Brothwell recognises the change as partly 'stimulated by tribal and religious groups who wish to have a say in the process as it relates to their own people' (2011: xxiii). The DCMS have documented the transition, noting:

The vast majority of work on human remains in the United Kingdom is uncontroversial and has wide popular and academic support [however it] is now the case that a number of interested parties claim rights over some human remains. These include genealogical descendants, cultural communities, custodians and the scientific community. Those holding remains have to evaluate these potentially competing interests and acknowledge that ideas about the legal and moral aspects are complex and may not always coincide (2005: 8).

The influence of minority religious groups on licensing in cases such as these has gathered momentum, and the protocol of retaining and studying human remains today has become a highly political and sensitive issue, with many cases of repatriation and reburial by religious and ancestral claimants recorded in the media (e.g. Henderson 2006; Blain and Wallis 2007; Randerson 2007; Ewing 2010; Morris 2011).

The influence of Jewish ownership and authority on the results of the excavations is demonstrated by McComish, who notes that archaeologists at Jewbury expected to be allowed two years to research the excavated human remains as per standard practice.¹⁰² However, the request for permission to conduct further archaeological study was denied by the then Chief Rabbi Jakobovits on the ground of religious belief. Jakobovits stated '[w]e are convinced that the dignity shown to humans even centuries after their death can contribute more than any scientific enquiry to the advancement of human civilisation' (Addyman 1994: 300). Whilst Jakobovits demonstrates the Jewish authority over the situation, evident in that the resulting excavations were conducted under 'conditions of considerable haste' (Dobson 2010: 89), it is important to note that the notion of a singular all-inclusive Jewish voice is problematic. A similar approach has been highlighted in the Winchester case study by Kushner, who asserts that then Orthodox Chief Rabbi Sacks demonstrated an 'inability to accept the limitations of his office; non- Orthodox and secular Jews do not accept his authority and this is also true of some of those to his religious 'right'' (2009: 106). Thus, although authority over medieval Jewish human remains in York was asserted by Haredi and Orthodox Jewish groups (and in Winchester by Haredi Jews), there are conflicting views within other Jewish groups that allow for the

¹⁰² Jane McComish (2017), Email to Toni Griffiths, 10 January.

option of further study on human remains, whilst also advocating the need for immediate reburial; this will be further explored in the case study of Norwich in Chapter Six.

It is notable that although the depth of study hoped for by Archaeologists was not achieved, there were some significant outcomes for the public representation of York's medieval Jewish community. The preliminary excavation reports that York Archaeological Trust were able to publish have been credited as the most comprehensive work available for any English or European medieval Jewish cemetery (Lilley *et al* 1994, Hillaby and Hillaby 2013: 91, Shoham-Steiner 2014: 14). Although some of the conclusions drawn from these reports have been restricted, this has been as much due to the 'lack of any other comparable large-scale excavation of medieval Jewish cemeteries' (Dobson 2010: 90), as the lack of depth of archaeological research. Further, some valuable insights into medieval Jewish history have been provided by using information from the excavations as a building block, such as Mark Williamson's 'ingenious attempt to use statistical evidence to calculate the probable size of the medieval York Jewry: 260 for the total population and 159 for children over 14 years of age' (Williamson 1994: 538; Dobson 2010: 90).

Upon completion of the supermarket carpark at Jewbury, a plaque was erected to publicly acknowledge the significance of the site as a medieval Jewish cemetery site. The inscription reads:

This is the location of the ancient Jewish cemetery of York. Some of the remains were re-interred 8th July 1984 – 8th Tammuz in the presence of the Chief Rabbi Sir Immanuel Jakobovitz and representatives of the Jewish community. The re-interment was kindly provided by J. Sainsbury PLC to whom the Jewish community is most grateful.

Geographically the site of the plaque is accurate as it indicates the location of the cemetery. However, Narin van Court has criticised its placement as being inaccessible to the public, as it is on the wall of the carpark building, thus 'where cars, not pedestrians, for the most part, pass' (2008: 8). As the plaque is largely obscured from public view, it could be argued that its purpose to commemorate the medieval Jewish cemetery has not been fulfilled, as only those who are aware of its existence have access to it. In addition to the placement of the plaque, concerns have also been raised regarding respect for its maintenance and condition. In 2000, the shopping centre on the site of the cemetery 'promised to clean up the plaque commemorating the cemetery containing 500 bodies' in a local newspaper after visitors on a walking tour had to 'force aside the bushes before' it could be seen (Rutstein 2000: [online]).

In conclusion, the public representation of medieval Jewish history in York has been subject to the influence and interpretation of many different stakeholders, from the general public to English

Heritage, to walking tour organisers, to different Jewish groups. The latter has consisted of both local and international representatives of multiple and sometimes competing, contemporary Jewish voices. The Jewish involvement has been integral to the role of Clifford's Tower as a memorial site, as well as authoritative in determining reburial of the medieval Jewish human from Jewbury. In this way, the primary focus has been on remembering and honouring the medieval Jews through commemoration and reburial. However, the role of heritage and tourism industries have largely been responsible for the public facing historical interpretation of York's medieval Jewry. Their initial approaches have reflected wider developments across Europe in an effort to confront, or at least present, more difficult aspects of local Jewish history. The combination of focusing on negative history and responding to trends in Dark Tourism resulted in the presentation of the history of York's medieval Jewry with a dominant focus on the 1190 martyrdom/massacre, which created a consistently one-dimensional view of the Jewish community. However, a recent shift towards recognising the broader history of the medieval Jewish community of York has resulted in a new collaborative approach towards this aspect of history. The new direction of English Heritage has recognised and sought the input of Jewish stakeholders. However, due to resistance from the general public, the success of the new interpretation at Clifford's Tower heritage has yet to be determined.

CHAPTER SIX: NORWICH

This chapter explores the memory of the medieval Jewish community of Norwich which as with the case studies of Winchester and York in the previous chapters, is complicated by the limited presence of artefactual, funerary, and built heritage. Further similarities are found between Norwich, Winchester, and York in that the public representation of medieval Jewish history in the city has been characterised by periods of silence, and also constructed with an overt focus on the negative aspects of its medieval Jewish past. The following will argue that approaches in Norwich towards representing and commemorating medieval Jewish history have been defined by its reputation as the first location in Europe where Jews were accused of committing ritual murder in 1144 (Hillaby and Hillaby 2013: 282). Significantly, this was the first of 'at least a dozen' such cases in England (Stacey 2007: 61); other instances include those in Winchester, which were discussed briefly in Chapter Four. The resulting sensitivities regarding Norwich and the 1144 accusation, along with other events of persecution and victimisation will be discussed below, and this will be used to determine how far such attitudes have informed and impacted upon the approaches of key stakeholders, such as museum officials and the local Jewish community. In particular, these issues will be considered in the context of the unexpected discovery of alleged medieval Jewish human remains at a Norwich building site in 2004, the televised investigation of the remains on BBC Cold Case in 2011, as well as the deaccessioning of the bones and their subsequent reburial.

This chapter will consider how the tendency to approach medieval Jewish history and memory in Norwich in a negative manner has informed and impacted upon the events related to the discovery of medieval human remains in the well. This information will be used in combination with interviews with museum officials to provide unique insights into the power relations, and the fluidity of connections, between key stakeholders in the context of ownership of the medieval human remains, as well as the tensions between academics, museum staff, and the local Jewish community in ascribing a Jewish identity to the medieval human remains. The section of this chapter that deals with stakeholders will also be informed by current research being conducted by the Natural History Museum in London. Scientists at the museum are utilising DNA samples retained from the discovered medieval human remains as part of a project to investigate 'the impact of technological, demographic and social changes on human disease burdens since the origins of agriculture' (Barnes 2013: [online]). The research by the scientists at the Natural History Museum demonstrates the ongoing nature of investigations over the identity of medieval human remains alleged to be Jewish, and as such, they provide this chapter with as yet unpublished insights into the debate. Due to the nature of the

ongoing investigation, the following exploration of the issues regarding the medieval human remains does not aim to make a definitive conclusion of the ethnicity or identity of the bones but instead examines the nature of the debate and development of conflict between the museum and Jewish community. To achieve this, the following utilised a significant source of information provided by a freedom of information request from Norfolk Museums Services, and which provided insights into tensions between academic stakeholders and Jewish communities over power, authority, and ownership in the context of human remains. This tension resonates with current debates between the Jewish community and a London Coroner over the prioritisation of Jewish burials in 2018 (e.g. Sherwood 2018; Sugarman and Welch 2018).

Before discussing the public representation of local medieval Jewish history, it is necessary to give an overview of the events in 1144 when Jews in Norwich were accused of ritual murder. This chapter argues that the reputation of Norwich as the first town or city in Europe to make such an accusation (Rose 2015: 340-1) has defined local approaches to forgetting and remembering based on ongoing sensitivities of these events combined with a series of other negative medieval Jewish histories in Norwich which are outlined below.

In 1144 the body of a 12-year-old Christian boy named William was found in Norwich. Claims were made that the boy was crucified by local Jews in a mockery of Jesus' death. The local sheriff denied the charges on behalf of the Jewish community and took the community into the city castle for security; the Jewish settlement of Norwich was an important local and national settlement as it had an *archa* and therefore it was in the best interest of the town to safeguard its Jews. William was initially buried at the site where his body was found but his remains were later moved and entombed in Norwich Cathedral cemetery. Four years after his re-burial at the Cathedral, miraculous events connected to William were claimed by Thomas of Monmouth, a monk at Norwich Cathedral who attempted to promote 'the cult of St William' (Hillaby and Hillaby 2013: 282). Later, the boy was made a saint, and the Chapel of St William was dedicated in 1168 at the, supposed, site where his body was first found (Norfolk Heritage Explorer 2017).

The site where William's body was apparently discovered is now broadly referred to as Mousehold Heath, a large banked enclosure which features the smaller site of what was previously St William's Chapel, marked by the remains of a possible flint building platform. The location is legally protected by the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979 (Bale 2012) and 'is the largest local nature reserve managed by Norwich City Council' (2017). The area is a biodiverse site (Norwich City

Council, Norfolk Biodiversity Partnership, and Norfolk Geodiversity Partnership: n.d.) and its preservation is managed 'on behalf of the people of Norwich'¹⁰³ by an independent governing body called Mousehold Heath Conservators which is 'made up of city councillors, representatives of professional bodies, and members of the public' (Norwich City Council 2017); the group operate with the support of the local action group Mousehold Heath Defender set up in 1972.

An interpretation board was installed at Mousehold Heath in 2015 and focuses on significance of the site to the events of 1144 (Mousehold Heath Conservators 2016). The board acknowledges the dedication of St Williams Chapel and notes that 'despite a complete lack of evidence, the local Jewish community was accused of William's murder' (Mousehold Heath Conservators 2016). The inscription also places the event in a wider context, highlighting that:

[a]lthough the accusations were completely unfounded, the story of William is an important one. It is the first known example of the accusation that became known as 'blood libel'.

Similar claims were made in other English cities and in other countries over centuries, contributing to the persecution of the Jews.¹⁰⁴

However, alongside maps of the site, the board includes an image from a rood screen at Holy Trinity Church, Loddon, approximately 11 miles away, which depicts the murder of William of Norwich through an image of his splayed, mutilated, body, surrounded by disturbing figures (see Figure 9). The inclusion of the image appears in contrast to the interpretation, as it does not originate from Norwich or the site of Williams Chapel and presents an image of Jewish guilt rather than continuing the focus of the text which emphasises the spurious nature of the 1144 accusations against the Jews.

Notably, there is no commemorative plaque at the site to recognise the impact of the 1144 murder accusation on the Jewish community. Archaeologist and curator for Norfolk Museums Services Alan West, has explained that the absence of such a plaque is due to the fact that the exact location of the discovery of the body is unknown.¹⁰⁵ The alternative would have been to position a plaque in a more generalised area of the site. Thus, the commemoration of medieval Jewish history in Norwich in this context is hindered not just by lack of tangible heritage but also through lack of information detailing the exact place of key events. The complexities of acknowledging the significance of a generalised area in relation to specific historical events is addressed by English Heritage in the published guidance on installing commemorative plaques. The guide notes that 'inscriptions which contain phrases such

¹⁰³ Mousehold Heath (2016), Information Board, William of Norwich 1144, 16 August.

¹⁰⁴ Mousehold Heath (2016), Information Board, William of Norwich 1144, 16 August.

¹⁰⁵ Alan West, Archaeologist and Curator at Norfolk Museums Service (2016), Interview with Toni Griffiths, 16 August.

Figure 9: Rood screen depicting the murder of William of Norwich, (Rubin 2010: 48).



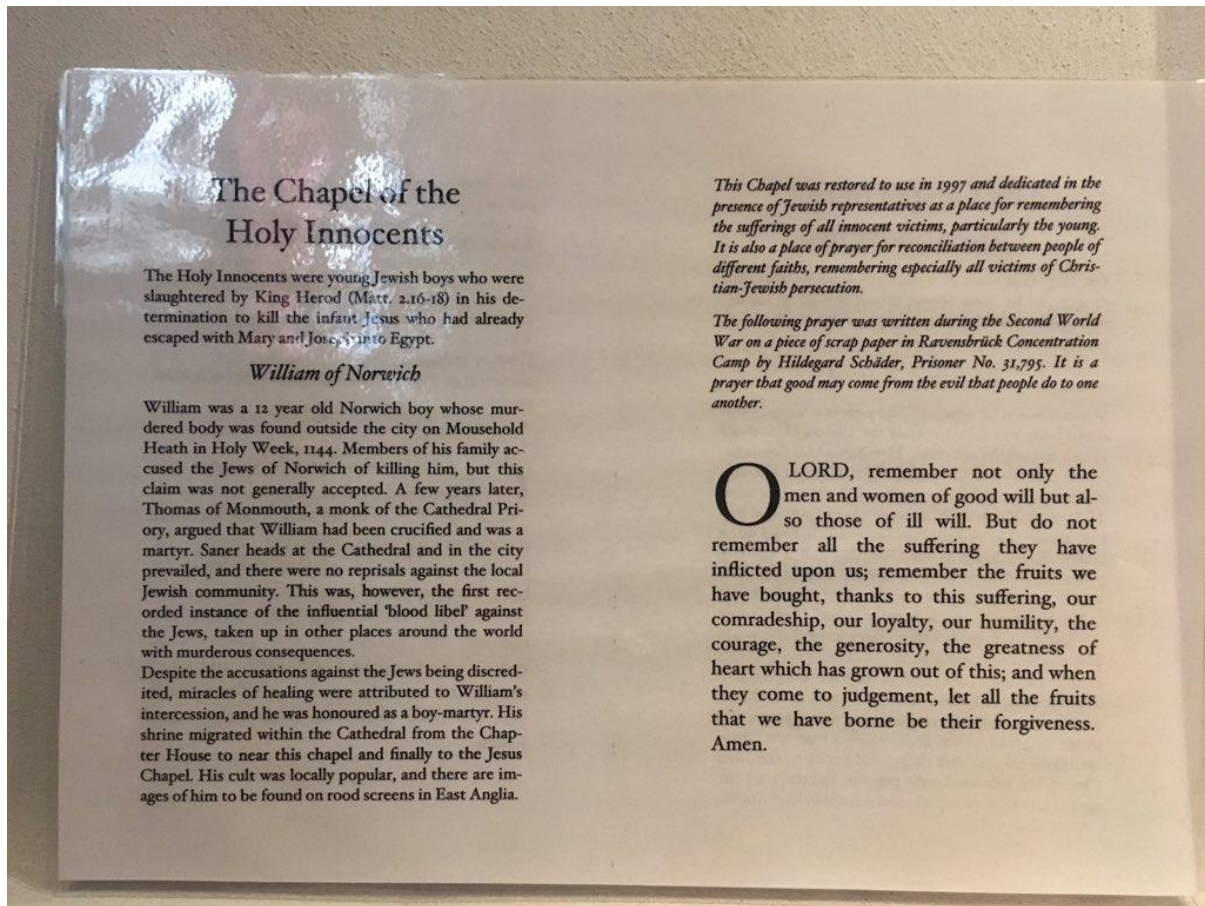
as 'might have' or 'in this vicinity' are of questionable value and do little to connect history and place' (English Heritage 2010: 890). Another place in Norwich that addresses the events of 1144 is Norwich Cathedral, where at the site of the shrine of Saint William a chapel of reconciliation was dedicated in 1997 called the Chapel of the Holy Innocents. The original shrine was where the body of the 'martyred' child Saint William was laid out in the Cathedral, beneath the present organ case' (Kadish 2006: 133). The Cathedral brochure describes the chapel as a place to 'remember William of Norwich, a young boy found murdered in 1144. Local Jews were falsely blamed for his death' and encourages the visitor to use the location to pray for 'victims of abuse, persecution, and intolerance' (Anon n.d.a: 2). An A4 laminated sheet has also been placed in the chapel, offering visitors an interpretation of the ritual murder accusation and also features a prayer (see Figure 10).

The role of the Chapel of Innocents and the commemoration of 1144 is prominent from the perspective of local contemporary Jews. Reform rabbi and former President of the Movement for Reform Judaism Anthony Bayfield describes the city as one that 'does not like to be reminded of this part of its history' (2017: 104). Therefore, the significance of publicly recognising the wrong doing towards medieval Jews in 1144 at the site of the shrine of William is clear. Further, previous president of the Norwich Jewish Orthodox community, Maureen Leveton, highlights that Cathedral representatives have accepted responsibility for how the Jews were treated in 1144 and in the 1997 dedication of the Chapel, issued a public apology 'to the Jews for the 1144 Blood Libel' (n.d: 5).

The time distance from the long ago past of medieval Jewish Norwich, coupled with the change of denomination of the Cathedral from Roman Catholic to Protestant complicates, and to some degree, disconnects its role as responsible body for commemorating the events of 1144. However, the importance of the commemoration at the Chapel of Innocents and the apology in 1997, is highlighted by Leveton as a 'significant point in inter-faith relations' (n.d.: 5). Further, the role of the contemporary Cathedral as a placeholder institution in the commemoration of 1144, highlights its significance as a *lieux de memoire*, or site of memory (Nora 1989) for medieval Jewish history. Historian Pierre Nora asserts that such sites are created in the absence of real environments of memory, or '*milieux de memoire*' (1989: 7), evident in this case by the changes of ownership that has taken place within the Cathedral since the ritual murder accusations. Nora is discussed further in Chapters Two and Five.

Although the action of commemoration in the Cathedral has been commended from the perspective of local Jews, the content of the interpretation sheet has been criticised by academic Elisa Narin van

Figure 10: Interpretation of the murder of William of Norwich, Norwich Cathedral, © Robinson Wild 2018.



Court, who argues that it represents efforts by the Cathedral community to historically retract the events related to 1144 (2006: 16). Of particular concern to Narin van Court is the prayer which 'was written during the Second World War on a piece of scrap paper in Ravensbrück Concentration Camp' (see Figure 10). Narin van Court highlights the controversial nature of combining medieval and contemporary Jewish history, which, she argues, supports the lachrymose conception that defines the Jewish experience through a continuation of suffering through the ages. The historical context of the prayer, Narin van Court notes, 'chooses global over local, and transfers Norwich's violence against the Jews to the consummate (and distanced) reality of the Holocaust' (2006: 16). Further, its focus on remembrance and forgiveness is seen to have the impact of confusing William of Norwich with victims of the Shoah, noting that instead, 'for an accurate account of medieval Anglo-Jewish history, clarity of vision and purpose should guide our individual and collective decisions' (2006: 16).

The negative impact of the ritual murder allegations brought against Norwich's Jewish community in 1144 has brought about a form of post-colonial guilt (e.g. Barkan 2001: 316) in some contemporary non-Jews living in Norwich. These non-Jews include the local blogger Nick Stone, who asserts that '[m]ost people in the city have some vague knowledge of the Story of William of Norwich, partly because it's part of our historical fabric [and it is] a disturbing and unpleasant moment in our collective history' (2016: [online]). Stone's use of possessive terms such as 'our' and 'collective' implies that there is a connection between the non-Jewish community of Norwich and the events of the city's medieval past. However, unlike other non-Jewish connections to the medieval past, such as the apology given by a contemporary local resident in York (Chapter Five), Stone does not note any ancestral connections, which would be unlikely as the city is a place defined by migrant history. Further, unlike the Jewish form of collective memory which draws on continuities in identity, ritual, and tradition across time and space, Stone does not indicate any continuities in religious identity with the medieval citizens of Norwich.

Thus far, this chapter has demonstrated that the story of William of Norwich is well known in the city, and this, in turn, complicates instances where local medieval Jewish history has been omitted. The issue of silence, or forgetting, is a sensitive topic, however, it is essential to highlight that the study of local medieval Jewish memory is complex and thus should not be limited to assessment of how a place remembers. Crucially Daniel Walkowitz and Lisa Maya Knauer, note that memory is fragile, in that it 'is as much about forgetting and self-censoring as remembering' (2009: 7). An example of forgetting in Norwich can be found in 2001 when the 'Origins' Museum was opened, offering 'an

exciting exploration of 2000 years of Norfolk history', consisting of over sixty exhibits.¹⁰⁶ The museum has since closed due to loss of revenue, but the content of the displays remains important to this study as there was no mention of the ritual murder allegations in 1144, or of the city's medieval Jewish community. Narin van Court highlights that the silence in this area was made more prominent by the otherwise 'comprehensive and thorough... coverage of Roman artifacts, Saxons, Angles and Jutes, Danes, Normans, Dutch, and even Americans' (2008: 14).

Other places where there is a notable absence of medieval Jewish history is the Museum of Norwich. However, in the same way as the case study on Winchester explored in Chapter Four, the city museum in Norwich is curated from an archaeological perspective, thus medieval Jewish history is not acknowledged in its displays due to a lack of tangible evidence.¹⁰⁷ It is important to note here that there was one artefact relating to the medieval Jewish community that was initially described as belonging to the Jews of Norwich, however, updated interpretations revealed it is more likely have been from elsewhere, and this will now be discussed. The artefact is known as the Bodleian Bowl and was 'discovered at the end of the seventeenth century in a disused moat' in the city (Abrams 2017: 117). The bowl is made from bronze and is 'some 10 inches high (25 cm) [with] two handles, and three hoof-shaped feet' (Hillaby and Hillaby 2013: 57). Around its middle, is a Hebrew inscription, which has been translated as:

This is the gift of Joseph, the son of the Holy Rabbi Jehiel - may the memory of the righteous holy be for a blessing - who answered and asked the congregation as he desired in order to behold the face of Ariel [i.e. Jerusalem], as it is written in the Law of Jekuthiel [i.e. Moses] "And righteousness delivereth from death" (Proverbs xi. 4) (Abrahams, Bevan, Singer, and Smith 1927: xviii).¹⁰⁸

The purpose of the bowl is unknown, and whilst the inscription indicates that it is related to the Jewish community, 'its actual meaning and purpose has continued to perplex scholars up to the present day' (Brackman 2015: [online]). It is described by Hillaby and Hillaby as '[t]he most remarkable physical legacy of the medieval Anglo-Jewry' (Hillaby and Hillaby 2013: 57), with Historian

¹⁰⁶ A brief overview of the museum can be found here: <http://www.culture24.org.uk/am22789>, however, the museum's website has been permanently shut down.

¹⁰⁷ Alan West (2016), Interview with Toni Griffiths, 16 August. For the museum website see: <https://www.museums.norfolk.gov.uk/museum-of-norwich>.

¹⁰⁸ The original Hebrew reads:

הנדר יוסף בן הקר (הקדוש רב)
יחיאל זצקל (זכר צדיק וקדוש
לברכה) המשיב ושואל לקהל כה
[ג]ואל כד(א)י לחזות פני אריאל
בכת (כתב) בדת יקותיאל וצדקה
תציל מ[מות]

(Hillaby and Sermon 2007: 106).

Rebecca Abrams asserting that it was once part of the furnishings of the synagogue to 'collect charitable donations' (2017: 118). In the first instance, the bowl was believed to have originated from the Bury St Edmunds Jewish community, however, the claim was later revealed to be incorrect due to it being based on mistaken information about where the bowl was discovered (Abrahams 1902: 184-192). The connection of the bowl to Norwich was first made by Lipman in his foundational work on the medieval Jews of the city. Lipman suggested that it 'may have originally belonged to the Norwich community' (1967: 185), quoting a theory that it was made in France and brought to England as plunder from the Crusades (1967: 113-115). However, Historian David Stephenson asserts that it is more probable that the bowl was 'a gift by [a rabbi named] Joseph to the Colchester Jews, amongst who lived his brother' (1983: 49). The Colchester claim is also highlighted and supported by Hillaby and Hillaby (2013: 59). The artefact is now on display at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, having been transferred there from the Bodleian Library in 1932, where it had been donated by a previous owner in 1755 (Abrams 2017: 117).

The original home of the Bodleian Bowl was reinterpreted as Colchester in 1983 (Stephenson 1983: 49) and has been upheld in the period since (e.g. Hillaby and Hillaby 2013: 59). However, Lipman's 1967 interpretation (1967: 185) has been frequently used by Norwich's heritage community to connect the bowl to the city: writer for Norwich Heritage, Economic & Regeneration Trust (HEART) Sarah Morley, notes '[a]mongst the finds from the excavations in the Haymarket [Norwich] was a 13th century bronze jug inscribed in Hebrew [n]ow known as the Bodleian Bowl'. (2006: [online]); and honorary lecturer of History at the University of East Anglia Brian Ayers, asserts '(the 'Bodleian Bowl'), now in Oxford, was discovered in Norfolk in or before 1696. It is inscribed with a rabbinical inscription and is thought to have originated with the Norwich community' (2009: 15). The reproduction of long outdated historical research is representative of issues concerning the accessibility of local medieval Jewish history in two ways. On the one hand, the heritage texts by Morley (2006) and Ayers (2009) were designed to be public facing for a lay audience, and this highlights the problem of repeating out of date interpretations. Additionally, there are issues with the accessibility of texts and interpretations relating generally to medieval Jewish history, as discussed in the Literature Review. Stephenson's work on the Bowl, for instance is only to be found within a publication about the Colchester Jewry, thus it is clear that the reproduction of Lipman's interpretation, in *The Jews of Medieval Norwich*, came to be used by heritage officials researching the medieval Jewish Norwich community.

Moving away from the contested nature of the Bodleian Bowl, it is important to highlight that there is some uncontested physical evidence of the medieval Jewish community in the form of built heritage.

A stone house on King Street is known to have been owned by a Jew in the medieval period and has since been called Wensum Lodge, the Music House, and also Jurnet's Bar. The property was purchased in around 1225 by Isaac Jurnet, 'a prominent Jewish financier, merchant, rabbi, physician and property owner with residences in Norwich and London' (Lipton 2016: 7). The building was notable for its considerable size as Isaac was able to purchase a royal license in order to add an extension (Hillaby and Hillaby 2013: 170). Hillaby and Hillaby highlight the significance of the size of the Norwich house, in that it was 'substantially larger than Belaset of Wallingford's upper-hall house [however] [i]n contrast to the latter, the Music House is virtually unknown outside of Norwich' (2013: 172). Belaset was a female medieval Jewish moneylender in Lincoln and her hall was 'some 40ft by 20ft (12 by 6 m), had a fire-place on the front wall' (Hillaby and Hillaby 2013: 172). It appears what may have made her better known than Jurnet was the massacre that marred her wedding in Lincoln (Krummel 2011: 99), and her hanging in 1290 for alleged coin-clipping (Hillaby and Hillaby 2013:174); the dark history events that record her life, add weight to the prevalence of dark history in relation to medieval Anglo-Jews.

Wensum Lodge is now an adult education centre, and the historic undercroft has been turned into a wine bar named Jurnet's Bar, after the former Jewish occupant. The historical significance of the building is acknowledged by a green plaque, one of over one hundred plaques in the city that describe important buildings and personalities which were funded by a 'private bequest from a Norwich businessman in the early 1980s' (Norwich City Council 2004: 105). The plaque was installed by Norwich City Council in October 1981,¹⁰⁹ and states 'Music House: The oldest dwelling house in Norwich. Home of the Jurnet family c1170-1240. Sir John Pasten after 1478 and Lord Chief Justice Coke from 1613'¹¹⁰

The inscription on the plaque mentions the Jurnet family, however, there is no reference to the importance of the building or the Jurnets within the context of local medieval Jewish history. In this way the inscription is problematic in that there are identifiable tensions, as highlighted by Bale, between the articulated aspect of 'Jewish "invisibility"' (Bale 2013: 299) and the potential representation of an integration of 'Anglo-Jewish sites into the urban fabric of what were, or remain, mixed communities never entirely defined by their Jewish associations' (Bale 2013: 299). It is notable that the objective of the City Council in the placement of green plaques was to acknowledge 'the need for people (whether residents or visitors) to be able to understand and 'interpret' the heritage

¹⁰⁹ Maria Anon, Advisor at Norwich Tourist Information (2017), Email to Toni Griffiths, 28 October.

¹¹⁰ Music House, Norwich (2016), Green Heritage Plaque, 16 August.

of Norwich which may be seen around them' (Norwich City Council 2004: 105). In this way, the tensions created by an incomplete interpretation on the plaque can be highlighted as preferable to an alternative that might otherwise have been the complete erasure of medieval Anglo-Jewish history from this rare connection with a physical place.

Other tensions created by the short inscription on the plaque at Jurnet's can be identified by considering it within the context of the guidelines for installing commemorative plaques published by English Heritage. The guide asserts that shorter inscriptions are 'desirable and can often stimulate more interest than a complete account, encouraging a passer-by to look further into the subject' (English Heritage 2010: 90). They exist, English Heritage states, as 'a trigger to further enquiry... ideally suited to the internet age, in which a brief term is usually sufficient to locate full information' (English Heritage 2010: 90). Were a tourist to input the words from the plaque, 'Jurnet family 1170-1240 Norwich', into an internet search, they would find several links to images of the building, and an article by the *Eastern Daily Press* entitled 'Jurnet's House', which discusses the importance of the building in the context of medieval Jewish history (Anon 2010b).¹¹¹ Thus, in a digital age the limitations of a short inscription have been removed, as more information is available to tourists online, although the discoverable information relates more to the building as little is known about the actual family *per se*, and indeed the plaque itself does not mention the Jewish history of the site. Thus, the problem of remembering the medieval Jewish community through the plaque and follow-up online searches, is that this is completely dependent on the content and accuracy of third-party websites and on-line articles; internet search results can fluctuate, meaning that there may not always be a reference to the medieval Jewish connection with the building on the first page of results, which is important as 'very few people go past the first search page' (Xiaoge 2016: 229).

In addition to the complexities associated with the length of the inscription on the plaque at Jurnet's House, there are also issues concerning its accuracy. Since the erection of the plaque in 1981, new evidence has rendered the dates relating to the Jurnet family as incorrect. Hillaby and Hillaby note 'that it was not, as Lipman believed, Jurnet of Norwich, who died c.1198, but his eldest son Isaac, who brought the Music House [from the previous owner] John Curry' in around 1225' (Hillaby and Hillaby 2013: 170). The contrast between contemporary research and the inscription reveal that the mistake of over extending the Jurnet family's ownership of the property comes at the expense of forgetting another figure in the building's history, previous owner John Curry. Further, the assertion that the property was held by Jurnet and then Isaac, through the use of previously incorrect dates and the

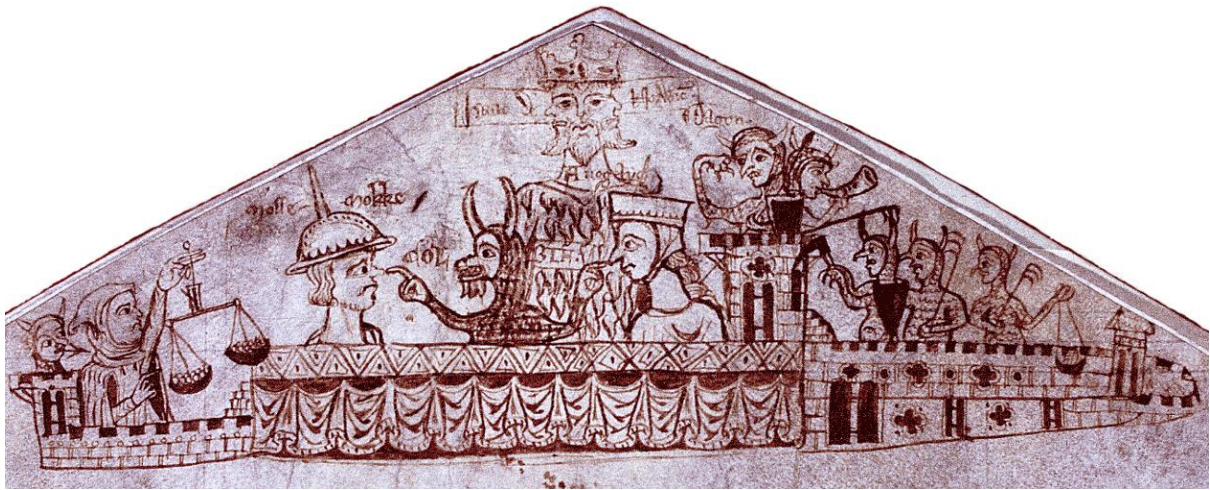
¹¹¹ Google Search conducted by Toni Griffiths 22 May 2018.

reference to family ownership, removes the focus from Isaac, a key figure in the medieval history of the town in that he was 'the richest man in early thirteenth century Norwich' (Rose 2015: 280). Therefore, an updating of the plaque to include John Curry and a more precise description relating to Isaac Jurnet (c1225-c1235) specifically would enable the plaque to be more effective in meeting its English Heritage aims. However, it is understood that this would incur a cost by Norwich City Council at a time when the maintenance and provision of plaques is complex; this will be further explored below.

The stone house in Norwich features in Kadish's *Jewish Heritage in England: An Architectural Guide*, a survey of England's major Jewish landmarks (2006: 132). The entry about 'Jurnet the Jew's House' also mentions an anti-Jewish caricature from 1233, preserved at the National Archives, on the top of an Exchequer Receipt Roll (TNA 401/1565; see Figure 11). The cartoon portrays three Jews, the main figure of which is Isaac of Norwich, or Isaac fil Jurnet, once owner of the stone house; the figure is labelled at the top 'Isaac de Norwich' (TNA 401/1565; see Figure 11). Isaac is portrayed as a king with three faces, 'mirroring medieval pictures of the Antichrist' (Mundill 2010: 70). Beside him is a helmeted man who is identifiable by the description 'Mosse of Mokke', 'who also appears in financial records in Norwich and London' (Lipton 2016: 7), and on the other side is a woman labelled 'Avegaye', 'one of the many Abigails mentioned in contemporary documents' (Lipton 2016: 8). In addition, there are figures brandishing weighing scales and a devil figure in the foreground tweaking the noses of Mosse and Avegaye (TNA 401/1565; see Figure 11). The interpretation of the caricature has been discussed in detail by Lipton (2016) and is also the subject of ongoing research by Bale (2018).

The caricature features in Kadish's guide as a relic from the medieval Jewish past linked to Norwich through Isaac Jurnet. However, it is notable that the cartoon, which according to Bale was likely produced in Norwich, is about Norwich rather than being from Norwich. Its significance then is more prominent in its role as 'the earliest extant image to depict specific, individual, non-biblical, non-fictional Jews' (Lipton 2016: 16). Further, it also attests to the complex and often violent relationship between Christians and Jews in England at this time (1230s). Mundill asserts that the caricature is representative of a wider manifestation of 'Jew hatred' (2010: 71) and there are many examples in Norwich to support this, such as: in 1230 Jews were accused of kidnapping and circumcising a boy; in 1234 formal complaints were made against the Jews based on the accusations; the article on literary

Figure 11: Anti-Jewish Caricature, (The National Archives n.d.: [online]).



heroes on the Norwich, the 'city of stories' blog mentioned above, is focussed on the medieval Jewish poet, Meir of Norwich, also known as Meir Ben Elijah. Meir's poems 'bear witness to the events leading to the expulsion' (Mundill 2010: 64) of the Jews from England in 1290, and were published in the original Hebrew, alongside an English translation, by Author Keiron Pim in 2013. Prior to this, these poems from Norwich's medieval Jewish community were marginalised and 'largely overlooked' (Pim 2013: 15). The only other published translation of the poems was in the appendices of Lipman's work from 1967, therefore, as Krummel notes, Pim's publication was a 'recovery of Meir of Norwich's voice' (2018: 282).

Meir's poems are important as they are widely considered to be of high quality and form part of a limited collection of surviving medieval Anglo-Hebrew literary work (Stacey 2003: 48). Similarly, to the Isaac of Norwich caricature, however, the poems are also problematic in their representation of the darkest aspect of Christian and Jewish relations in Norwich. Thus, the negative associations of the city are exacerbated in the context of medieval Jewish history, originating with the difficult history of the ritual murder allegations against the Jews in 1144, and closing at Expulsion through Meir's poetry. Meir Ben Elijah is described by Pim as 'one whose faith was deeply shaken by the horrors that he witnessed: the plunderings, imprisonments and deaths his community suffered' (2013: 290). The challenge that this represents in terms of public representation of the medieval Jewish history in the city is also articulated by Pim, who notes that 'Norwich is now a member of the International Cities of Refuge Network for threatened writers owing to its tradition of welcoming the persecuted', and the existence of the poems written in '[t]he uncompromising voice of Meir ben Eliahu is a discomfiting reminder of a less tolerant era' (Pim 2013:10).

In 2004, efforts were introduced in Norwich to recognise previously marginalised heritage and this resulted in some public recognition of local medieval Jewish history. This new approach was coordinated by HEART, a private, charitable company with a focus on the regeneration, management, and promotion of the city's heritage. Although the organisation was officially dissolved in 2017 (Companies House 2017), references to efforts to incorporate local medieval Jewish history into the wider approach of the city's historical narrative remain. New plaques were installed to promote a better public understanding of minority histories, and this included the recognition of the site of where large proportions of the medieval Jewish community once lived: what is now a pub called Henry's at the Lamb Inn, in the Haymarket, Norwich. The former Jewish area of the city (see Figure 12), approximately from White Lion Street/Haymarket to the north, and Rampant Horse Street/Little

Figure 12: Map of medieval Norwich, (Lipman 1967: 116, Fig. 13).



Oxford Street to the south, included 'the Jewish court, synagogue and communal facilities' (Mundill 2010: 30); Mundill notes that 'most of the Norwich Jewry lived within 250 yards of the synagogue' (2010: 55). Another significant site relating to the Jewish community would have been the cemetery, however, unlike Winchester and York, the site has not been identified, although it is known that it In 2012, HEART published the booklet *Strangers: a history of Norwich's incomers* which concentrates on the role and contribution of Jews and others, as incomers to the city over centuries (Meeres 2012). In this publication, Chapter Four covers local medieval Jewish history and successfully incorporates the negative as well as positive aspects. For example, key events of persecution are acknowledged with reference to the aforementioned ritual murder accusation in 1144, and the execution of at least sixteen local Jews for alleged coin clipping offences at the end of the 1270s (Meeres 2012: 24; 25). Positive histories mentioned in the chapter provide a brief insight into the everyday nature of Jewish lives and include discussions about the varied occupations of Jews at the time, such as physicians, fishmongers, and wine merchants (Meeres 2012: 23). There is also a focus on the 'cultural crossovers between the two communities', with reference to Jews and Christians (Meeres 2012: 23).

As an additional feature, the *Strangers* booklet includes a self-guided tour, 'A Walk Around Norwich' (Meeres 2012: 125-129). The tour focuses on the history of Norwich's incomers and as such mentions, medieval Jewish history in two out of twenty stops: stop eleven notes 'one of the main streets to the medieval Jewry' (2012: 127) and stop twelve indicates the site of the medieval Jewish synagogue (2012: 128). The tour is not available separately from the book thus requires participants to purchase it online, or from key tourist related sites such as the Norwich Tourist Information Centre and Shop at the cost of £6.95. The need to pay for this information acts as a barrier to public accessibility of medieval Jewish history and notably contrasts with the selection of free walking tours for other historical narratives available in the Tourist Information shop. Further, the accessibility problem is exacerbated by the fact that *Strangers* is the only place where medieval Jewish history in Norwich is mentioned, despite a wide display of guided and self-led walking tours, and local information maps and booklets.¹¹²

Although the Norwich tourism information has a dearth of information on its medieval Jewish community, JTrails runs a tour that currently feature medieval Jewish Norwich, including a combination trail that also covers Northampton and Lincoln, as part of an 'extended three day tour of some of the high-lights of Jewish heritage in England' (Roberts 2015a: [online]). JTrails is an organisation that will be further discussed in Chapter Seven. Further, there is the potential for further

¹¹² Toni Griffiths (2016), Visit to Norwich Tourist Information Centre, 16 August.

study and assessment in the area of tours based on the theme of medieval Jews in Norwich, as a new project is being jointly discussed by Canon Librarian of Norwich Cathedral Peter Doll and Education Officer of Norwich Hebrew Congregation Marsha Parker. The collaboration between the Cathedral and local Jewish representatives is currently focused on designing 'a walking tour through William's Norwich, looking at the site associated with the Jewish community of the time and with his death',¹¹³ however such plans are in their infancy and are thus subject to change as they develop.

Other periods of local Jewish history (not medieval) are mentioned in the *Norwich's Nooks and Crannies* walking tour, noting on point twelve, 'the site of the first synagogue in Norwich after Cromwell invited Jews back to England in the mid-17th century' (Norwich City Council and Blue Badge Guides 2016: 12). The main reason for the marginalisation of medieval Jewish history in local walking tours is that trails generally concentrate on built heritage and, with exception to Jurnet's House, there is a lack of extant physical remains of medieval Jewry in Norwich. However, as the case study of the *Medieval Jewish Trail* in Winchester (Chapter Four) has shown, there are ways to overcome this, though also with limitations and critiques, as noted above. Primarily, a medieval Jewish tour can focus on the sites where Jewish heritage is known to have existed and thus incorporate their footprints, for example where long-lost buildings are known to have been. Such tours have been described in Chapter Four as 'tours of absence', or, as with one recent article, 'touring the invisible' (Griffiths 2017).

Another approach towards overcoming challenges to remembering what is physically no longer there comes from what Norman Klein calls 'anti-tours'; Klein describes taking the audience to 'locations where no buildings existed any longer [and telling] them what had been there once' (1997: 3). However, such a tour in Norwich would be forced to confront a difficult past, i.e.: the buildings of the 'the Jewry [were] burned down at the Expulsion in 1290' (Kadish 2006: 133). This would inevitably lead into wider discussion of the 1144 ritual murder allegations and the many other negative aspects of Jewish life in medieval Norwich as mentioned above. Such a development would be challenging but no means impossible, as demonstrated by the *Strangers* booklet (2004). In addition, possibilities of a walking tour around Norwich focused on William and the aforementioned 1144 accusations are being discussed by a collaboration of representatives of Norwich Cathedral and the local Jewish community. Thus, the possibility of further developing the public acknowledgement of medieval Jewish history and memory in Norwich has valid potential for the future, although it is not possible to assess how

¹¹³ Peter Doll, Canon Library at Norwich Cathedral (2018), Email to Toni Griffiths, 21 May; Roberts (n.d).

much fuller this may have been if HEART had not been dissolved, or if an alternative organisation had been set up to take its place.

Another group responsible for publicly remembering and commemorating local medieval Jewish history are the local Jewish Orthodox community, known as the Norwich Hebrew Congregation, who take an active role in promoting Jewish heritage in the city. This small community hosted the Norwich arm of the aforementioned, tri-location Jewish heritage tour led by JTrails,¹¹⁴ and in 2017 a display on the Jewish history of the city was displayed in the synagogue as part of the wider Heritage Open Day.¹¹⁵ Further, the community also worked together with representatives of the Christian community to install a plaque at the Chapelfield Shopping Centre, Norwich, to commemorate the interfaith reburial of the alleged Jewish human remains, found down a medieval well whilst the foundations of the shopping centre site were being constructed. However, the latter event also revealed the presence of underlying tensions between the two groups; as Bayfield notes, the process of deciding the best way to memorialise the event was ‘a difficult process [which] revealed strong differences... about how to deal with such historical events’ (2014: 114). The events surrounding the human remains are highly controversial and will be discussed further below.

The inscription on the Chapelfield plaque is described by Bayfield as having ‘proved acceptable to all parties’ (2017: 114), Jewish and non-Jewish. It reads:

In memory of six adults and eleven children
whose bodies were discovered in a well shaft in 2004
during the construction of the Chapelfield Shopping Centre.
This plaque commemorates their burial
by Jewish and Christian ministers together
on March 19th 2013
in the Jewish cemetery in Norwich.
The burial was also an act of reconciliation for the persecution
of the Jewish community in medieval Norwich.
‘Return, O my soul, to your rest.’ Psalm 116. 7

¹¹⁴ For an overview of the event see: Roberts (2015) *JTrails Jewish Heritage Tour of Norwich, Northampton and Lincoln*. Available at: https://web.archive.org/web/20171029185115/http://www.jtrails.org.uk/whats_on/news/c-1952/jtrails-jewish-heritage-tour-of-norwich-northampton-and-lincoln/. [Accessed 29 October 2017].

¹¹⁵ For an overview of the event see: Heritage Open Days (2017) *Norwich Synagogue*. Available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20171029184835/https://www.heritageopendays.org.uk/visiting/event/norwich-synagogue1>. [Accessed 29 October 2017].

Unveiled on 16th February 2015, Shevat 5775

by the Lord Mayor of Norwich, Councillor Judith Lubbock (see Figure 13).

How effective the plaque is in its role to commemorate and acknowledge this area of history is debatable for two reasons. Firstly, it has been positioned on an outside wall of the shopping centre, at such a height that its presence is not immediately apparent to passers-by (see Figure 14). The positioning of the plaque draws parallels with the cemetery plaque in York, as discussed in Chapter Five, as both are out of the general line of sight with the York plaque on a carpark wall, thus both are only accessible to those who know to look for them. Secondly, if passers-by and visitors are able to read the Norwich plaque from where it has been placed, there is a notable mistake in the inscription which includes both Hebrew and Georgian dates for the discovery and reburial of the remains. The plaque states reburial took place on '19th March 2013, 8th Nissan 5775' (see Figure 13) however, the year 5775 on the Hebrew calendar refers to 25 September 2014 to 13 September 2015. Guidance for installing commemorative plaques produced by English Heritage asserts that '[m]istakes, if made, reflect badly on those responsible for the plaque... Ensuring facts and spelling are accurate are a vital part of the process of carrying out historical research' (English Heritage 2010: 88). In this case, those responsible for the plaque are the local representatives of both Jewish and Christian communities. It is not known whether the two communities are aware of the inaccuracy in date, but the inscription was signed off as 'acceptable to all parties' (Bayfield 2017: 114).

In 2004, a human skull was discovered during routine construction work for the development of a new shopping centre in Norwich. An archaeological excavation followed and the skeletal remains of seventeen individuals, consisting of eleven juveniles and six adults of both sexes, were found in what appeared to be the base of a well (Emery 2010: 1). The remains were dated to the twelfth or thirteenth century using the assessment of pottery sherds found on the same site and radiocarbon dating, a method where 'measuring the amount of radiocarbon in a skeleton can be used to determine how long has elapsed since death' (Roberts, C. 2009: 214). However, it was not possible to determine cause of death for the remains or ascribe a specific identity (Emery 2010); however, it was asserted that '[t]he bodies themselves appear to have been carelessly placed in the well, and at least two appear to have been thrown in the well upside down' (Boghi 2010: 13). After initial investigations, the remains were exhumed, packed into bags and boxes, and placed in storage under the care of Norfolk Museums Services, as per standard procedure (OSSA 2012).

Several years later, in 2011, Norfolk Museums Services gave permission to a television production

Figure 13: Commemorative plaque inscription, Norwich, (Bradley 2015: [online]).

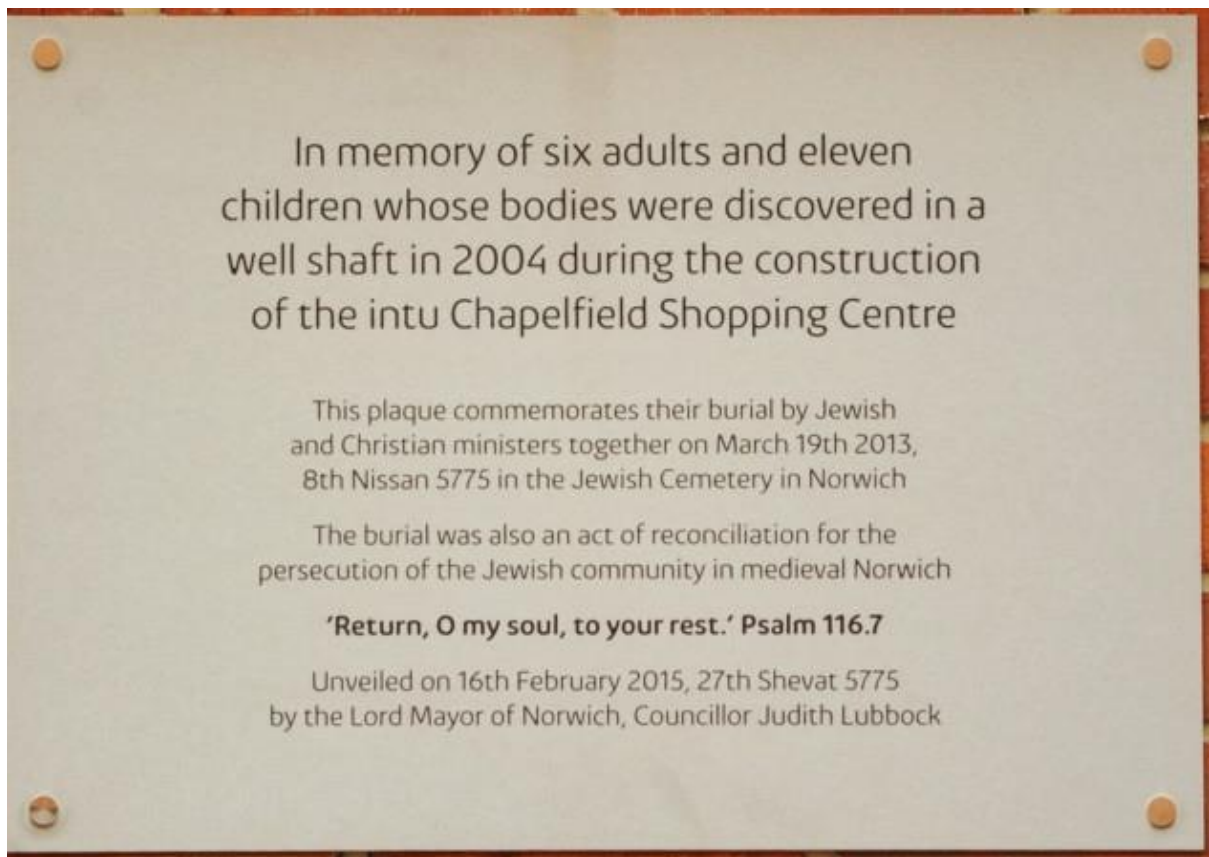


Figure 14: Norwich plaque commemorating bodies found down a well, (Anon 2015a: [online]).



company to feature the remains in an episode of BBC's History Cold Case,¹¹⁶ a programme that uses modern forensic science techniques to shed light on the past. The programme was given the title 'The Bodies in the Well' and was first broadcast on 28 June 2011 and was shown again on 14 July 2011; prior to this, on 6 April 2011, a preview was shown to museum staff, academics, and members of the local community. The impact of the Cold Case programme was significant in that it instigated power struggles over the authority and ownership of the human remains between the museum and representatives of the Jewish community. Ultimately this led to the repatriation of the remains and their subsequent reburial in a Jewish burial ground. The content of the television programme and the development of conflict will now be discussed.

The narrative of the Cold Case programme is an important factor in determining the events that followed its broadcast. Film and Television Theorists, Roberta Pearson and Phillip Simpson, assert that television 'revolves almost entirely around narrative' (2001: 300), and this is also applicable to non-fiction television (2001: 300). Pearson and Simpson highlight that the role of the narrative is central in the purpose 'to communicate story-events to the audience' (2001: 300). By assessing the programme within the context of a story, the prominence of a conclusion is evident. As noted above, initial studies on the human remains were inconclusive, however, the purpose of the Cold Case study investigation was to provide 'answers about who these people [down the well] were and what happened' (BBC 2011: [online]). Indeed, the programme synopsis highlighted that the episode included a definitive conclusion, noting that it is 'a case of suspected medieval murder' and that 'the final reveal of the identity of these people is an even bigger shock' (BBC 2011: [online]).

The content and conclusion of BBC Cold Case were evocative in that the broad assertion was made that the remains were certainly Jewish, despite this being based on speculative DNA results; the narrator states that 'science has shown that at least five [of the sets of remains analysed] were from the Jewish community and [were] likely family members' (Norwich Jewish Bones [NJB] 2015: 33:58 seconds). The claim that 'at least five of the people in the well were Jewish' is also repeated at the end of the programme (NJB 56: 37 seconds). Further, the programme asserts that the individuals found in the well could have been victims of persecution; the narrator notes, 'the trail points to [the victims] having possibly been murdered or pushed into suicide' (NJB 2015: 56:50 seconds).

¹¹⁶ For a synopsis of the BBC Cold Case episode, see: BBC Two (2011) *History Cold Case*. Available at: <https://web.archive.org/save/http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b0125kbf> [Accessed 6 October 2017]; For full programme see: Norwich Jewish Bones (2015) *BBC-History Cold Case the Bodies in the Well*. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nhaEg0Kva5g>. [Accessed 6 October 2017].

Although the programme's narrator finished with cautious language such as 'possibly' and 'could have' (NJB 2015: 4:48 seconds), the focus on violence and persecution is predetermined from the programme synopsis which notes the overarching narrative of murder. Whilst, deaths caused by natural causes are ruled out due to a lack of evidence on the bones (NJB 2015: 52:40), the same lack of evidence is used to imply death by 'crush asphyxia', whereby victims can no longer breathe due to the chest being compressed (NJB 40:54). Another theory suggested on the programme, was that the Jews committed suicide (49:07). However, it is notable that the action of suicide, or martyrdom, is, as previously discussed, unusual in Judaism traditionally thus it would be surprising for it not to have been documented.

The theory of Jewish suicide in the Norwich well case is complicated further by the inconsistent Cold Case comparison between the well bodies and the 1190 Jewish massacre/martyrdom in York. The programme suggests that 'the suicide method of taking a knife to their throats may well not have left a mark on the bones and would ... fit with the idea that the people in the well are family members' (NJB 2015: 50:04 seconds). Chapter Five notes that Jewish men at Clifford's Tower took the lives of the women and children first, before taking their own lives. Conversely, in Norwich, it is suggested in the Cold Case programme, that the younger people found in the well were the last to go in (NJB 2015: 38:05). Crucially, however, Television Producer, Jeremy Orlebar notes that in the same way as a predetermined narrative can be expected in a television programme, to some degree historical discrepancies can also be expected. He stated that '[t]here is a tension between producing a documentary which is representative and 'accurate' and providing the audience with a programme which conforms to the conventions of argument or storytelling' (2011: 97).

Further issues concerning accuracy and cause of death with the Norwich well victims can be identified in Forensic Anthropologist Sue Black's analysis of whether the victims entered the well alive or dead. Observations were made of what appeared to be 'a burst fracture' on one of the adult spines (NJB 2015: 37:01) and 'similar damage to three of the adult leg bones (2015: 37:38); Black posited that this type of fracture happens 'when you get force, either coming down onto legs, or of course coming down onto head' (2015: 37:11). Based on these observations, Black suggested that the injuries on the bones looked perimortem (2015: 37:57), or prior to the moment of death. In turn, this assertion informed a suggestion that illustrated a sequence of events whereby the victims were alive when entering the well, which was dry, landed on their feet or knees, and cushioned the fall of the children (2015: 38:05) thus explaining the absence of further similar fractures. However, this series of events

based on the observation of suspected perimortem injuries is complicated by the general observation by Biological Anthropologist Molly Zuckerman, who notes:

when traumatic events occur around the time of death, it can be difficult to distinguish the perimortem bone damage from postmortem changes, without other information regarding... the nature of death, it is almost impossible to make firm diagnostic interpretations (2016: 476).

The issue of compromise in terms of accuracy and/or complexity, and the limited scope of representation by television programmes is highlighted by Orlebar (2011: 97). The impossibility of covering all plausible alternatives in the space of one television episode is significant, as it could offer explanation and contextualisation to the tensions between academia and television that are highlighted by the Cold Case programme. Such tensions are evident in that there is minimal acknowledgement of alternative explanations for how the bodies came to be in the well in the Cold Case episodes. Conversely, the previously mentioned archaeological report notes:

The method of disposal may suggest that the individuals were the victims of some form of civil unrest, but the number of children present may also indicate an outbreak of disease. Alternatively, the well could have been used as an emergency burial pit (Boghi 2010: 18); and: The... date range... witnessed disastrous famine and great stress for the general population in the widespread crop failure of 1258 and the civil war of the 1260s. It is possible that these individuals may represent family members local to the parish of St Stephen, perhaps victims of catastrophic famine or disease (Emery 2010: 27-28).

Further, there is the contrast in audience and purpose of the academic reporting and the television programme in this context. The former produced a detailed archaeological report as part of the process required to remove the human remains from the ground and continue with development of the site, whereas the latter was a documentary series designed to educate and entertain, with the overarching objective to produce television that appeals to an audience. The conflict between academia and television programme production in this way is made evident by Pearson and Simpson, who note 'In a post-modernist era, where questions of truth and the construction of truth are omnipresent, such representations shamelessly sell truth that conceals fundamental mediations' (2001: 142).

The tensions between academia and television programme production in the context of the Cold Case episode and its limited representation of the issue is further highlighted in a discussion about the

location of the remains; found inside a well. The narrator of the programme asserts that no parallels have been found anywhere in the UK (NJB 2015: 23: 48 seconds). However, Chief Archaeologist of Norwich Museum, Alan West has noted that there are other examples in Norwich of non-standard burials including in medieval wells, and specifically two infant burials discovered in the Barbican Well in the Castle Mall excavation (Shepherd Popescu 2009: 737).¹¹⁷ This discrepancy highlights a lack of contextual information in the programme, confirmed by West, who notes that the producers of the programme did not make use of any of the museum staff's expertise before or after filming, notably Dr Tim Pestell, a specialist in Anglo-Saxon and medieval history, and senior curator of archaeology.¹¹⁸

The investigation of the human remains found in the well as presented by BBC Cold Case, introduced the existence of the bones in Norwich and drew conclusions about what happened to them to a wide audience of c.1.6 million viewers (Orlebar 2011: 111). In turn, this highlighted that these individuals had lacked a proper burial for many hundreds of years, and this was of particular concern to members of the Jewish community. As discussed in Chapter Three, traditionally, Jews generally bury their dead within twenty-four hours. This is based on the Biblical commandment 'But you shall not leave his body on the pole overnight. Rather, you shall bury him on that [same] day' (Deuteronomy 21:23), and the belief 'that the soul is in turmoil until the body is properly buried in the ground' (Goldstein 2014: [online]). Thus, the programme's conclusions that the remains were definitely Jewish, and the closing comments that 'the bones will now be handed back, perhaps for eventual reburial' (NJB 2015: 57: 10), prompted an emotional response from multiple Jewish communities: there were several demands for the immediate reburial of the remains from the Manchester Haredi community, English Orthodox communities,¹¹⁹ and one assertion that the remains should be flown to Israel for reinterment (Sharpe 2011).

The common sense of connection between contemporary Jews and medieval Jews highlighted in previous chapters, can also be seen in the Norwich case. In this case the connection with the alleged Jewish medieval remains can be identified in emails sent to the Norfolk Museums Services following BBC Cold Case. There was a unified call for a quick and dignified reburial of the remains, as well as use of terms such as 'co-religionists'¹²⁰ which indicates a connection to the past from a position within a broader collective. As is discussed throughout this thesis, the link between contemporary and

¹¹⁷ Alan West (2016), Interview with Toni Griffiths, 16 August.

¹¹⁸ Alan West (2016), Interview with Toni Griffiths, 16 August.

¹¹⁹ For example: Yehuda Brodie, Rabbi at the Jewish Ecclesiastical Court in Manchester (2011), Email to Sue Black, 23 June; Melvyn Hartog, Head of Burial at United Synagogue (2011), Email to Alan West, 23 June; Sophie Cabot, Engagement Manager at HEART (2011), Email to Alan West, 24 June.

¹²⁰ Yehuda Brodie (2011), Email to Sue Black, 23 June.

medieval Jews is complex, particularly in the context of the Orthodox tradition. Sheridan notes that there is an obligation 'to regard themselves not only as inheritors of such historical traditions, but also as participants. Thus, all Jews at the *Seder* table [for example] are to think of the Exodus as if they too were in Egypt at the time' (2000: 82). Other examples can be seen in how 'Moses and other heroes have their place in this history, but they also act as pious examples that ordinary people can follow... they belong in every age, offering a timeless quality and an immediate appeal' (Sheridan 2000: 82). In this way, Sheridan highlights that Orthodox Jews (and Jews more generally) are encouraged through ritual and liturgy to see themselves as connected with those who came before them and will be with those who come after, in a unified and continuous community, where 'myth is history and history myth' (2000: 82). This is also demonstrated in the ever-present link with Jerusalem throughout the diaspora and is seen as 'the symbol of the nation's glorious past as well as the hope for the ultimate restoration of the national Jewish homeland' (Bridger and Wolk 1976: 237).

Jewish ritual and liturgy are key elements in the creation of past as present and have been described by Author Leon Wieseltier in an article in the *New York Times*, as having a 'primary purpose... to abolish time, to make Jews divided by history into contemporaries' (1984: [online]). However, the continuity of the Jewish community across time and space is also not without its challenges. As Wieseltier notes, 'as the past becomes more immediate, it becomes less precise [and the] similarities with the present matter more than the differences' (1984: [online]). Wieseltier's assertion is exemplified in the context of the links between contemporary and medieval Jewish communities as shown in Chapters Four and G. Initially in York, Orthodox authorities asserted that the human remains found at the Jewbury cemetery were not Jewish, as the burial practices differed from the expected tradition. Yet, differences in tradition, such as iron coffin fittings found in the archaeological excavations, did not deter Jewish representatives from Haredi groups in both the Winchester and York context from taking decisive action to ensure that the alleged Jewish human remains were reburied as quickly as possible.

The history of assertive action, driven by a connection between the Jewish past and present in Winchester and York had a notable impact on the treatment of the allegedly Jewish human remains in Norwich. A warning was sent to Norfolk Museums Services staff by Marcus Roberts, Director of Jewish Heritage organisation JTrails, noting concerns that there would be an attempt at forcefully reclaiming the remains by Haredi Jewish groups (notably Roberts uses the term Ultra-Orthodox).¹²¹ In fact, the involvement of the Haredi in the case of Norwich was more formal than in Winchester and York, as the

¹²¹ Alan West (2011), Email to Rebecca Barwick, Stuart Garner and Colly Mudie, 28 June.

museum received an official request from Yehuda Brodie, a member of the Manchester Beth Din and a Haredi rabbi, asking 'whether anyone else from the Jewish community is involved', referring to the subject of reburial, and noting '[i]f not then I am happy to become involved'.¹²²

Brodie and the Haredi community were not the only Jewish voice involved in the reburial of the human remains, as Norwich Museum Services also received an email from Melvyn Hartog, Head of Burial for The United Synagogue, London. Hartog is answerable to the Orthodox Chief Rabbi of the Orthodox Jewish community, and noted the receipt of 'emails and phone calls' from multiple concerned Jewish individuals, regarding the reburial of the medieval remains.¹²³ However, unlike Winchester and York (Chapters Four and Five), Norwich has a local and active Orthodox community and it was this group who took the position of authority in terms of Jewish stakeholders and the reburial of the human remains.

The direct involvement between Norwich's Orthodox Jewish community and the civic authorities, which will be discussed below, appears to have removed the Haredi voice. However, the wider Orthodox group represented by Hartog, persisted in their enquiries independent of the local Norwich Orthodox community. In 2013 Hartog contacted Adam West for the second time, asking if 'there had been any developments on the remains as far as burial is concerned';¹²⁴ this was received one month before the remains were reburied at the Jewish cemetery in Norwich following a formal request by the Orthodox community of Norwich to Norfolk Museums Services.¹²⁵ The Jews involved in the communications with Norfolk Museums Services were evidently not deterred by any doubt of the identity of the remains. In addition, a demonstrable acceptance of the Cold Case conclusion is made evident through the statement that the local Jewish Orthodox community were 'satisfied that there [was] an overwhelming balance of probabilities that the remains [were] of members of the Jewish community of medieval Norwich who were killed, and their bodies disposed of, in tragic circumstances'.¹²⁶

The connection between the contemporary Orthodox community of Norwich and the alleged medieval Jews found in the well demonstrates the unity across time and space as described by the quotes from Sheridan above. It also illustrates what Jan Assmann has termed 'cultural memory' where

¹²² Yehuda Brodie (2011), Email to Sue Black, 23 June.

¹²³ Melvyn Hartog (2011), Email to Alan West, 23 June.

¹²⁴ Melvyn Hartog (2013), Email to Alan West, 18 February.

¹²⁵ Clive Roffe, Deputy for Norwich Board of Deputies of British Jews, and Peter Princly, Member of the Norwich Hebrew Congregation (2011), Letter to Sophie Cabot, 16 August.

¹²⁶ Clive Roffe and Peter Princly (2011), Letter to Sophie Cabot, 16 August.

the Jewish community in this case, has focused more intently '[n]ot the past as such, as it is investigated and reconstructed by archaeologists and historians... but only the past as it is remembered' (Assmann 2008: 113). Norwich's Orthodox Jews held an authoritative position in their belief that due to the possible religious connection with individuals found in the well, they were the rightful owners of the remains. Thus, the belief was that their property should be returned, so that a dignified reburial could take place; a declaration of ownership was demonstrated in a letter to HEART, seeking 'assistance in opening discussions with the Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Services, regarding an application for the return of [the] remains to the Jewish community'.¹²⁷ The letter goes further to acknowledge the complication of the 'great distance of time between these deaths and the present' but justifies Jewish authority in the statement that 'Judaism [is] a uniquely continuous practice [thus, the group] should still be considered the cultural, and to a lesser extent genealogical, descendants of these people'.¹²⁸ The sense of authority can be found in what Assmann describes as the 'special intensity' (2008: 114) that occurs in the overlap between identity and memory; in this context, the connection between Jews based on the belief of a universal community is fundamental to their identity.

The claim of Jewish authority was however, complicated by the direct disagreement of archaeologists at Norfolk Museums Services who produced reports arguing that there was insufficient evidence to support the claims of the Cold Case programme regarding a positive Jewish identity (West 2011). The resulting tension between the Orthodox Jews and the Norwich archaeologists identifies a power struggle over the identity and ownership of the remains. A formal report was given by Alan West at the Norfolk Joint Museums and Archaeology Committee in November 2011, where it was highlighted that the final DNA report had still not been received and research was being conducted using cutting edge technology. The report concludes, that:

[g]iven the scientific evidence it seems unlikely that there is a clear cultural and religious link between the claimants and the skeletal remains... and the excavation archive [where the remains were being held, was] legally in the care of Norfolk Museums Services (West 2011: 2).

The report also justifies the retention of the remains by the museum, on the grounds of undetermined identity. Further, the issue of safeguarding potential future research was highlighted: West notes, the 'reburial of these remains would remove a resource for future generations of

¹²⁷ Clive Roffe and Peter Princly (2011), Letter to Sophie Cabot, 16 August.

¹²⁸ Clive Roffe and Peter Princly (2011), Letter to Sophie Cabot, 16 August.

scholars and the public, as well as removing the possibility of answering further questions regarding these particular remains' (West 2011: 3).

The argument between representatives of Norfolk Museums Services and the local Jewish community over ownership and authority is representative of the typical tensions in the context of human remains between academic, and religious or ethnic communities in discussions of ownership, where the removal of ethnographical and other related materials has been reclaimed by cultural and religious groups. In the context of indigenous groups in America, Walowitz and Knauer highlight that '[p]reservationists, historians, and archaeologists often bemoaned these actions as antithetical to the pursuit of knowledge (at least as defined in their terms)' (2009: 11). In the case of Norwich, West notes in an internal document that if the remains were released to the Jewish community, then the museum would be at risk of receiving other requests for reburial. West highlights a preference for retention rather than reburial, in stating that the museum possesses '2300 + boxes, much of it medieval' (West 2012a: 2) and if the remains from the well were given to the Jewish community, then this 'could in turn lead to requests for the pre-Christian material from the Pagan community' (West 2012a: 2).

West's argument in favour of retaining the remains at the Norwich Museum was bolstered by their uncertain identity. In an internal briefing document, West's colleague at the museum and fellow Archaeologist Tim Pestell, argued that the DNA tests conducted for the *BBC Cold Case* programme were not evidence enough to assert a definitive identity of the remains. Pestell noted that 'only a few of the skeletons [were] sampled [and that] the programme makers said that the DNA traits 'may suggest' a Jewish background' (Pestell n.d.: 1). He concluded that there had been a 'twisting of the evidence' by the producers (Pestell n.d.: 1) and noted 'DNA testing on historical skeletal populations [was] still in its infancy' (Pestell n.d.: 1). Thus, it was the recommendation of archaeologists West and Pestell that the bones should not be deaccessioned, that they should not be handed over for reburial, and that they should thus remain in the museum's collection (West 2011: 3).¹²⁹

The dispute between the Archaeologists at Norfolk Museums Services and the local Jewish community, and the BBC Cold Case producers who instigated the calls for repatriation, is further complicated by discrepancies in the argument by Pestell. Thus, Pestell's claim for retention of the remains was weakened. In a combination of internal documents and emails, Pestell explored the theory of Jewish suicide/martyrdom and crush asphyxiation in the twelfth century, as posited by BBC

¹²⁹ Tim Pestell (2012), Email to Vanessa Trevelyan, 13 November.

Cold Case. The conclusion was that it should be discounted as a method of execution on the basis that there was 'no evidence for anything except peaceable relations between the Christian and Jewish citizens of Norwich' in the twelfth century.¹³⁰ This was supported by West who described the 'peaceable and law abiding nature of twelfth century Norwich' (West 2012a: 1). However, this assertion is problematic, in that it does not account for the 1144 ritual murder accusations against the Jews, as although the accused Jews were not put on trial and did not suffer any acts of violence against them at this time, there was notably an atmosphere in Norwich that allowed for the invention of the accusation in the first place. Earlier prejudices in the city are also evident, as the story of the Jewish boy who was saved from the flames of a furnace by the Virgin Mary 'was first told in England in a Latin sermon by Herbert de Losinga, the first bishop of Norwich who died in 1119' (Lavezzo 2016: 275); images depicting the story are still visible in Winchester Cathedral and are discussed in Chapter Four.

West and Pestell's assertion that Norwich was largely peaceful in the twelfth century for the Jews, also contrasts with conclusions made by Dobson, who highlights that there is 'evidence of growing hostility towards the Jews during the 1170s and 1180s' in England on a general scale (Dobson 2010: 13). In addition, Hillaby and Hillaby refer to widespread violence across many locations in 1190, when there was also an 'assault on the Norwich Jewry as on Shrove Tuesday, 6 February [when those] in their houses were cut to pieces' (2013: 283). Although some families were able to escape to Norwich Castle for protection, Hillaby and Hillaby note that it would have been from here 'no doubt [that] they [would have] watched with horror as their Jewry was consumed by the flames' (2013: 170). In other works, Hillaby also discusses the impact of the 1190 attack, stating that by '1194 the [Norwich] Jewry was sadly depleted [with] only eight tax payers being listed' (Hillaby 2003: 30); the stark comparison is evident in that in '1159 Norwich was the wealthiest of the ten provincial Jewries' (Hillaby and Hillaby 2013: 283). Finally, instances of hostility towards the local Jews at this time was experienced in 1200, 'when after the burgesses had broken into [the Jewish] cemetery, the community was awarded 'such compensation as they could get'' (Hillaby and Hillaby 2013: 283).

The tension between the Museums Services and the Jewish community of Norwich was created by contrasting opinions, and therefore can be discussed in terms of a power struggle. Foucault, describes power as being 'everywhere', highlighting that it is fluid, and 'can be produced from one moment to the next' (1990: 93-94). Foucault asserts that power is not 'a certain strength we are endowed with', but 'is exercised from innumerable points' depending on changing alliances and

¹³⁰ Tim Pestell (2012), Email to Vanessa Trevelyan, 13 November.

circumstance (1990: 93-94). As the events concerning the remains and the question of how they should be dealt with progressed, there were notable shifts in power in line with the factors identified by Foucault, as different stakeholders attempted to guide proceedings and influence the outcome. In the first instance Norfolk Museums Services held the power as they gave permission for the production company to borrow the bones for scientific study; the results of which would be broadcast in a television programme. In turn the power passed to the producers, who painted an emotive picture that appealed to Jewish groups who felt connected to the Jews of past. This contrasted with the scientific approach taken by archaeologists at the Norwich Museum who remained uncertain of the results. However, Foucault highlights that power and knowledge are interconnected (1990: 98), and thus in the perceived certainty of the Jewish group towards the identity of the remains as Jewish, their request for reburial had authority.

The power held by the Museums Services at the time of the Jewish request for the deaccessioning of the bones is based on legal ownership, which was at that time rested with the museum. The *Guidance of the Care of Human Remains in Museums* states that 'responsibility for the decision as to whether material should be retained or released will lie with the appropriate authorities within each museum or institution' (DCMS 2005: 23). The guidelines, produced by the DCMS, also reveal the somewhat unusual nature of the museum's consideration of the Jewish request to bury medieval remains, as:

[a]rchaeological and historical study has shown that it is very difficult to demonstrate clear genealogical, cultural, or ethnic continuity far into the past... For these reasons it is considered that claims are unlikely to be successful for any remains over 300 years old, and are unlikely to be considered for remains over 500 years old, except where a very close and continuous geographical, religious, spiritual and cultural link can be demonstrated (2005: 27).

After initial requests from the Norwich Orthodox Jewish community, further investigations were carried out as the Norwich Museum considered both Jewish and archaeological claims. However, in September 2012, the Jewish request gathered new momentum through a renewed appeal for the release of the human remains for reburial. A letter from the Deputy for Norwich of the Board of Deputies of British Jews stated a disregard for DNA evidence, highlighting that although:

subsequent tests have proved inconclusive, and indeed the existence of a Jewish gene is moot, other circumstantial evidence nevertheless suggests the Jewish provenance of the remains [and] further delay in their proper burial is regarded as deeply unsatisfactory, and

their storage, however carefully handled, rather than religious burial is a matter of considerable disquiet and upset.¹³¹

The letter clearly highlights transference of the human remains into the care of the Jewish community and subsequent reburial as the only agreeable solution from the perspective of the Jewish community. However, again archaeologists contested the request, and in an internal document, Alan West states:

There is no circumstantial evidence for the Jewish nature of the remains. The remains were indeed found near the Jewish Quarter of Norwich... but as the location is central to Norwich there are very few parts of the city centre that are not near the Jewish Quarter. Furthermore, the Jewish Quarter was not exclusively Jewish (West 2012b: 2).

West, and Pestell concluded that the remains should be retained in the archive due to a lack of evidence regarding their identity. However, the power relationship at this time had altered, and the second formal request from the Jewish community had been co-authored by a representative of the Church of England, presenting a unified inter-faith call for reburial. The letter states that after '[h]aving considered the matter together as Jews and Christians [and agreeing] that a suitable Services and burial is now overdue'.¹³² The impact of the additional support of the Christian community was two-fold in the context of power relations. Firstly, the Church of England was introduced as an additional claimant with possible connection to the human remains. Secondly, there was now a unified request arguing that the reburial of these remains 'would itself help to atone for the tragic rifts that characterised the relations between our communities in the past'.¹³³

West asserts that the disconnection between contemporary and medieval Norwich invalidates the Jewish claim to ownership of the human remains. He states that:

with the changing doctrines of Christianity over the centuries, especially the split from Roman Catholicism (in 1534 and 1558), the beliefs of the modern Church of England are very different from the thirteenth century [which] weakens any claim based on continuity of belief (West 2012b: 2).

West also notes that the introduction of an additional stakeholder with connection to the remains fails to cover the other possible identities of the remains. Thus, West argues that if the museum acknowledged the Church of England and the Jewish community as the authority over the remains,

¹³¹ Clive Roffe and David Gillett, Hon Assistant Bishop and adviser to the Bishop of Norwich and Interfaith Adviser to the Diocese of Norwich (2012), Letter to Vanessa Trevelyan, 8 October.

¹³² Clive Roffe and David Gillett (2012), Letter to Vanessa Trevelyan, 8 October.

¹³³ Clive Roffe and David Gillett (2012), Letter to Vanessa Trevelyan, 8 October.

they would in turn be ignoring the possible authority of other groups; these groups include the National Secular Society, the British Humanist Association, and the general population, all of which he notes, could all have ‘a potential interest [as] the cultural descendants of this group [with] their own views’ (West 2012b: 2).

The Church of England, working alongside the Jewish Orthodox community, unified as one authority, in order to try and ensure the reburial of the remains believed to be of medieval Jews. As well as supporting the Jewish connection and thus a potent link across time, the involvement of the Church can also be described as having originated from a local and intensively emotional connection to medieval Jewish history, as it was influenced by members who ‘wanted to acknowledge and make some recompense for the previously unknown crime perpetrated against the Jewish community in their parish’ (Bayfield 2017: 113). This scenario appeals to contemporary sensitivities in Norwich surrounding anti-Semitism and the events of 1144 and the ritual murder accusation thus complicating the power relations with added socio-ethical and political concerns. Indeed, Vanessa Trevelyan, Head of Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Services and the Joint Museums and Archaeology Committee, as well as Convenor of the Museums Association’s Ethics Committee, highlighted that it would not have been in the best interest of the Museum to have a campaign in the press regarding the reburial of the remains from the well, especially if it would ‘present the museum in a bad light’.¹³⁴

Overall, although the museum had the authority to hand over or retain the remains, these issues arguably shifted power to the Jewish group leading the request. Following the letter from Christian and Jewish representatives, a meeting was held for the key stakeholders, led by Trevelyan.¹³⁵ The outcome of the meeting was agreed by the Norwich Museum officials, Jewish and Anglican representatives, in what Trevelyan has described as a ‘collaborative approach’.¹³⁶ Having considered the tensions between the disputed identity of the remains, the potential for further research, and the argument set forward together by Christian and Jewish representatives that the remains should have ‘the dignity of a religious burial [having been] once disposed of’, Trevelyan noted that ‘the emotional needs of the successive community held greater weight [in this case] than academic needs’.¹³⁷ This approach is reflected in the wider context of museums and repatriation in Britain by Sociologist Tiffany Jenkins, who notes deaccessioning in this way ‘recognizes and affirms the needs of specific groups on the basis of historical wrongs and emotional needs’ (2008: 112).

¹³⁴ Vanessa Trevelyan (2016), Interview with Toni Griffiths, 8 September.

¹³⁵ Vanessa Trevelyan (2016), Interview with Toni Griffiths, 8 September.

¹³⁶ Vanessa Trevelyan (2016), Interview with Toni Griffiths, 8 September.

¹³⁷ Vanessa Trevelyan (2016), Interview with Toni Griffiths, 8 September.

The museum decided that there was a 'strong ethical case for the bones to be reburied' and the bones were 'deaccessioned without any conditions' in a 'collaborative' and 'sensitive' approach towards the result of reburial.¹³⁸ As the dispute came to a close the power remained with the Jewish group, although the museum came alongside them in order to facilitate an amicable outcome. The sensitive approach by the museum that ruled for reburial based on a 'strong ethical case'¹³⁹ with no other conditions was acknowledged and met with gratitude by the Jewish community who 'offered, without being asked, for the museum to retain some bone fragments for further research'.¹⁴⁰ The decision to allow the retention of bone fragments was significant in terms of potential future research, as they have since been utilised to conduct further investigations, the significance of which, will now be discussed.

Since their discovery in 2004, a total of three studies have been conducted on the human remains found in the Norwich well. The first study was the 2010 Norfolk Archaeology Unity report, *A Medieval Mass Grave on the site of the Chapelfield Shopping Centre, Norwich*, which stated that there 'is no clear evidence to suggest cause of death and the motives behind the method of burial remain uncertain' (Emery 2010: 27). The second was the previously discussed BBC Cold Case investigation in 2011, and the third, is currently ongoing and is using the bone fragments retained after the 2013 reburial of the remains. The latter study is a project conducted by the Natural History Museum in London, funded by the Wellcome Trust, called 'Human Adaptation to Diet and Infectious Diseases, from the Origins of Agriculture to the Present'. The questions over the identity of the remains feature as a small study amongst much the wider focus of the project on '[t]he impact of technological, demographic and social changes on human disease burdens during the last 10,000 years' (Natural History Museum 2013).

Thus far, the Natural History Museum study has provided grounds to discount some of the possibilities posited in the conclusion of the 2010 report by Emery, which analysed two DNA samples and estimated two date ranges for each: 'AD 1175-1265... and AD 1050-1290' for one, and 'AD 1215-1285... and AD 1160-1320' for the other (2010: 25). Emery explored two possible identities for the bones: one that they may have belonged to Norwich's medieval Jewish community; and the other that they were 'perhaps victims of catastrophic famine or disease' (2010: 27). In support of the latter, Emery highlighted that the calculated date range was within a 'historical period which witnessed disastrous famine and great stress for the general population in the widespread crop failure of 1258

¹³⁸ Vanessa Trevelyan (2016), Interview with Toni Griffiths, 8 September.

¹³⁹ Vanessa Trevelyan (2016), Interview with Toni Griffiths, 8 September.

¹⁴⁰ Vanessa Trevelyan (2016), Interview with Toni Griffiths, 8 September.

and the civil war of the 1260s' (2010: 27). However, the Natural History Museum has refined the radiocarbon date ranges using five samples made up of the two samples from the 2010 report, and a further three samples loaned from the Norfolk Museums Services in 2016. The updated date calculations for the remains by the Natural History Museum reveal that they are likely from a period before the events of crop failure and civil war, as noted by Emery (2010: 27). Two date ranges have been produced for the samples as a whole, which determine a sixty-eight percent probability of '1156-1206 AD', and a ninety-five percent probability of '1052-1215 AD'.¹⁴¹ The new results have been described by Bioarchaeologist Tom Booth, as 'more accurate' than those previous as they were calculated using a scientific method known as a 'calibration curve'.¹⁴² In addition, Booth notes that as 'all of the human remains were probably deposited more-or-less at the same time', the radiocarbon dates have been combined 'to refine them further', thus producing a 'more precise single range'.¹⁴³

By removing the possibility of death due to crop failure and civil war, the conclusions of the BBC Cold Case programme concerning the potentially violent death of the individuals in the well becomes more prominent. Indeed, the fact remains that seventeen bodies were found down a well with no clear identity or explanation, other than the one provided by BBC Cold Case. Further, Booth suggests that other, preliminary, aspects of study on the remains have revealed that 'it is now more likely that [the Cold Case] results are correct',¹⁴⁴ in the assertion that the remains were Ashkenazi Jews. However, he is careful to highlight that there is still no definite answer.¹⁴⁵

In conclusion, the public representation of medieval Jewish history in Norwich is complex in that it has either been overlooked and under acknowledged or has been focused on as a narrative of persecution and victimisation. Informed by the city's reputation as the location of the first ritual murder accusation against Jews, this negative approach towards representing and commemorating local medieval Jewish history also exacerbated the events of the rediscovery and reburial of the alleged Jewish human remains in 2004.

Further, the commemoration of medieval Jews in Norwich has centred on demonstrations of religious unity and public apology. The coming together of Christian and Jewish representatives in this way has also proved to be a powerful combination in their role as joint stakeholders of medieval Jewish

¹⁴¹ Tom Booth (2016), Email to Toni Griffiths, 22 December.

¹⁴² Tom Booth (2017), Email to Toni Griffiths, 24 August.

¹⁴³ Tom Booth (2017), Email to Toni Griffiths, 24 August.

¹⁴⁴ Tom Booth (2017), Email to Toni Griffiths, 24 August.

¹⁴⁵ Tom Booth (2017), Email to Toni Griffiths, 24 August.

memory and history. As a result, the unified religious group was the driving factor in negotiations with the Museums Services to reburial the remains, in a situation where all parties were influenced by increased sensitivities as a result of the emotive and provocative conclusions of the BBC Cold Case programme. The tensions that resulted from the negotiations over power, authority and ownership were typical of cases of repatriation, however they also offered a deeper insight into the specific processes between Jewish communities and museums/academics that was not available in the case studies where medieval human remains were discovered in York and Winchester, as discussed in Chapters Four and Five. The matter of a definitive identity for the human remains, continues to be a point of tension between Archaeologists at Norfolk Museums Services and the Jewish and Christian communities who reburied the remains, however future publications from the Natural History Museum may have the potential to resolve this.

The temporary presence of HEART, an organisation that introduced a period of recognising minority histories that raised the public profile of medieval Jewish history, added to the complexity of approaches in Norwich. For the first time, a wider narrative of everyday life was introduced. However, the dissolution of the company represents an end, or at least temporary pause, in the city's efforts to acknowledge this area of local history in a way that focuses on the positive as well as negative histories of medieval Jews.

CHAPTER SEVEN: BRISTOL AND NORTHAMPTON

This chapter explores the case studies of Northampton and Bristol over two sections considering the similarities in approaches towards investigating and representing medieval Jewish history and memory on a local scale. The following will assess the public display of artefacts linked to medieval Jewish history by museums in Northampton and Bristol, as well as the active role of the contemporary Jewish communities in each place in terms of their connection to the medieval Jewish past,. Crucially, this chapter focuses on two individuals: Local Historian and member of the Northampton Orthodox Jewish community, Marcus Roberts, and non-Jewish Bristol businessman Steven Kavanagh. Each has driven forward the further investigation of local medieval Jewish history in Northampton and Bristol respectively, and the following will assess the extent of their involvement as well as the impact on local approaches towards medieval Jewish history and memory.

Section one highlights Northampton as unique in terms of the variety of work conducted by a range of stakeholders. This will be exemplified through an assessment of the display of the only medieval Jewish tombstone in England, archaeological investigations on the suspected site of both the medieval Jewish cemetery and synagogue, the commemorative installations which acknowledge the medieval Jewish community at the city bus concourse, and a Jewish-history focused walking tour of Northampton. The following will also explore the discovery and reburial of the allegedly medieval Jewish human remains in Northampton, comparing the events with those of Norwich, as discussed in Chapter Six, and highlighting different approaches of local Jewish communities towards death and reburial in the context of retaining DNA samples for further study.

Bristol, like Northampton, also has a medieval Jewish artefact on display at a local museum, the M Shed museum at Princess Wharf. The medieval lamp is described as a remnant of the medieval Jews of Bristol, however in contrast to the Anglo-Jewish tombstone its identity is contested. This section of the chapter will explore the different interpretations of the lamp and will develop the theme of contested identity through an investigation of a medieval structure believed to be a *mayan* or ritual bath, most likely a *bet tohorah*, which provided water for the ritual washing the deceased before burial; the structure is inside a property in Jacobs Well Road, Bristol. Further, this medieval Jewish site will be explored through issues of ownership and accessibility with an emphasis on considering the role of key stakeholders such as the local Jewish communities, English Heritage, and Bristol City Council. Finally, this section will evaluate the potential for creating a specifically medieval Jewish walking tour in Bristol, as seen in other places such as Winchester. It will consider possible issues

associated with this and assess how a rounded narrative of both positive and negative history of Bristol's medieval Jews could be achieved.

Bristol

A three-wick copper-alloy lamp, dating to the late thirteenth century, was found in a cess-pit during excavations in Peter Street, Bristol, in 1975-1976 (Boore 2001:179; see Figure 15). The identity of the lamp is contested however. Historians Madge Dresser and Peter Fleming argue that it is 'one of the very few examples of the English medieval Jewry's material culture to have survived' (2007: 14), whereas Hillaby and Hillaby argue that 'the documentary evidence of 1285 and 1290 makes no reference to Jewish settlement in Peter Street', where the lamp was found, noting that the community was located 'only in Narrow Wine Street, close to the castle' (2013: 63). The dispute is complicated by Dresser and Flemming's assertion that the 'precise find site [where the lamp was discovered] would have fronted Narrow Winch Street' (2007: 15), which seemingly places the lamp within the confines of the Jewish community as identified by Hillaby and Hillaby (2013: 63).¹⁴⁶ However, the lamp was found 'on the south side' of Narrow Wine Street (Dresser and Fleming 2007: 15), whilst 'most of the Jewish property, including the *scola* [synagogue], was on the north side... within the purlieu or barton of the castle' (Hillaby and Hillaby 2013: 66).¹⁴⁷

The lamp's identity is complicated further by Archaeologist Eric Boore who, in contrast to Hillaby and Hillaby's assertion, argues that the excavation site revealed the remains of a stone and timber building that 'was provisionally associated with one of the documented Jewish houses recorded in the area and may have been victim of the anti-Semitic riots in 1266 and 1275' (Boore 2001: 179). Boore's original article in 1982 notes that the building 'may represent one of the documented Jewish buildings' (1982: 8). However, Boore's conclusions are ambivalent. He argues that there is 'no positive evidence for the Peter Street or the other copper-alloy lamps mentioned... being either of Jewish origin or having been used as Sabbath lamps' (2001: 181), but also highlights that it may also be linked to the medieval Jewish community of Bristol based on its:

similarity and form to the other lamps found in medieval urban centres with extensive Jewish occupation, and to identified post-medieval Jewish lamps...The form and construction of the medieval lamp is identical to the post-medieval lamps depicted in manuscript illustrations in use by the Jewish faithful, as part of the recognised ritual of the Sabbath (2001: 181).

¹⁴⁶ See Figure 16 for a map of Bristol showing Peter Street and Narrow Wine Street.

¹⁴⁷ Dresser and Flemming use 'Narrow Winch Street' (2007: 15) whereas Hillaby and Hillaby use 'Narrow Wine Street' (2013: 63). Both are correct and refer to the same place as 'Wine Street... is a corruption of Wynch [Winch] Street' (Bryce 1861:13).

Figure 15: Medieval ritual lamp, M Shed, Bristol, © Griffiths 2017.

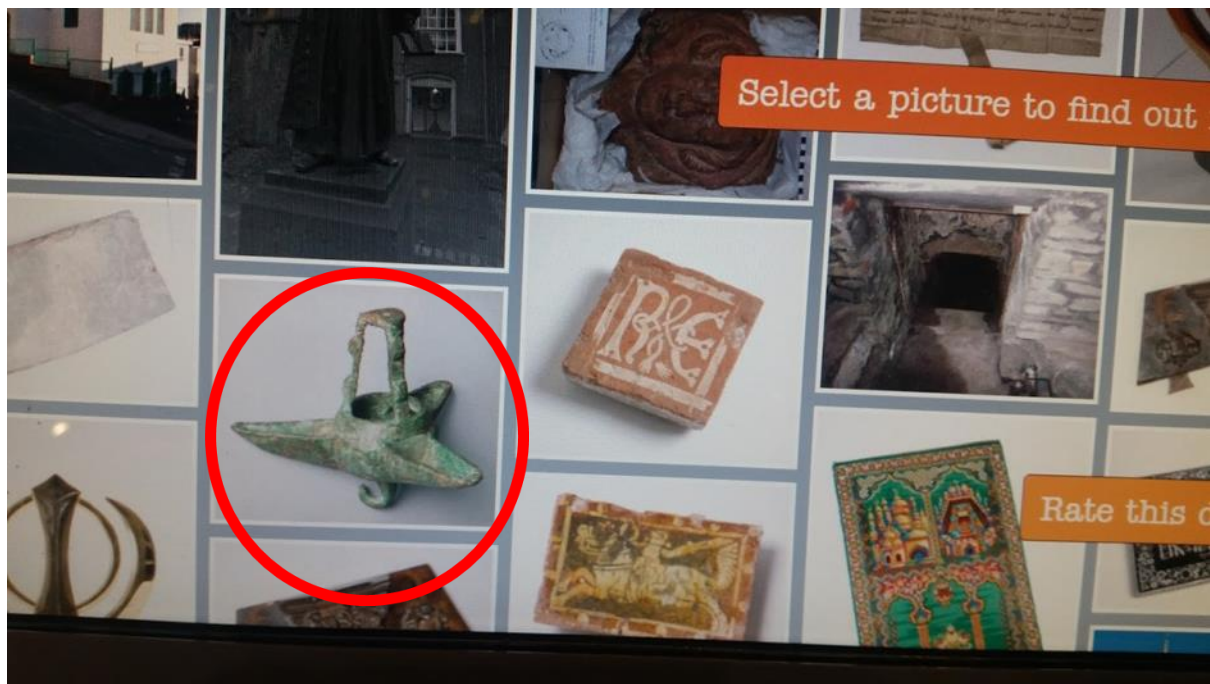
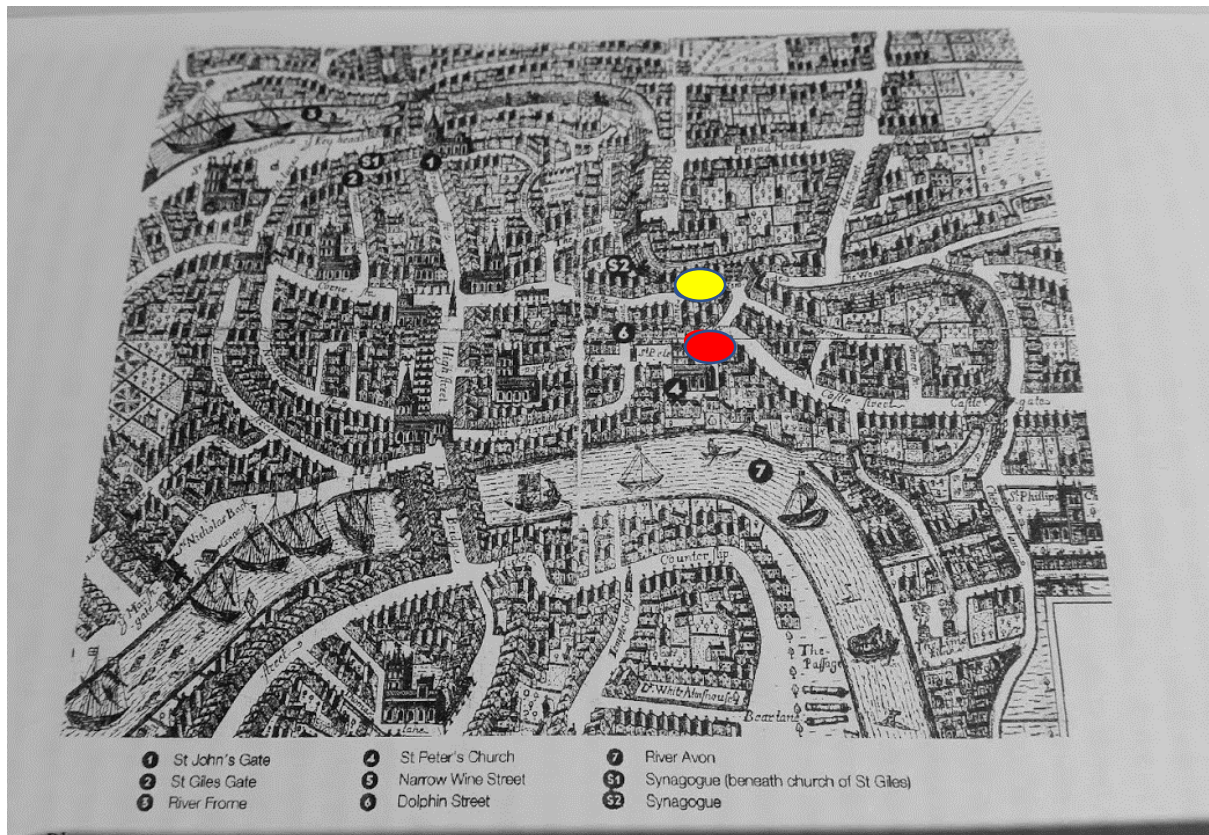


Figure 16: Millerd's Map of Bristol, (Hillaby and Hillaby 2013: 65).

Peter Street is shown by the yellow circle and Narrow Wine Street is shown by the red circle.



Since 2011 the lamp has been on display at M Shed, one of several museums operated by Bristol Museums, Galleries and Archives on behalf of Bristol City Council. The public facing interpretation, designed by the museum, is problematic, as it does not acknowledge that the identity and purpose of the lamp is contested.¹⁴⁸ The object label definitively describes the artefact as a 'Sabbath lamp'.¹⁴⁹ Further, it states that it is 'one of only four examples found in Britain and a rare survival of Bristol's early medieval Jewish community' (Bristol City Council 2016b: [online]). The interpretation reflects a collaborative project with Dresser and the University of the West of England prior to the opening of M Shed. This project consisted of academics and museum curators working together to ensure that 'up to date academic research [informed] curatorial decisions' (Dresser 2011: [online]). However, the final interpretation of the artefact evidently consists of the historical interpretation by Boore, Dresser, and Fleming, thus neglecting the discrepancy noted by Hillaby and Hillaby.

The lamp is on display in the M Shed as part of the Religion and Worship section in the 'Bristol Places Gallery', and it is showcased as part of 'some amazing discoveries that have been made in and around the city' (Bristol City Council 2016a: [online]). The object label for the lamp notes that '[t]hree synagogues associated with this community are known to have existed in medieval Bristol'.¹⁵⁰ Beside the cabinet is an interactive display where visitors can select an image relating to the history of Bristol and 'find out more'.¹⁵¹ There are two references to the medieval Jewish community included in the touch screen exhibit. One reference is to a photograph of the lamp, which leads to a repetition of the object label rather than any new information. Thus, at no stage is it clarified for the M Shed visitor that the artefact has a highly contested association with the city's medieval Jewish heritage. However, it could be argued that at least this community is noted in the city's historic narrative and without the lamp, their existence would be obscured. The second reference is to an image of some stone steps leading down to a dark entrance.¹⁵² The steps shown in the image are those of the Scheduled Monument *mayan*, which has links to the medieval Jewish community in Jacob's Well Road, Bristol. The monument was discovered by the Bristol Temple Local History Group in 1987 and is allegedly a *bet tohorah*, or ritual bath for the dead; the importance in the Jewish tradition of purifying the body through washing prior to burial was discussed in Chapter Three. Crucially, however, the identity of the monument is not made apparent to visitors to M Shed as there is no additional information beyond the picture of some steps. After selecting the image, visitors are shown a brief overview of 'A

¹⁴⁸ M Shed Museum, Bristol (2017), Sabbath Lamp Object Label, Bristol Places Gallery, 13 June.

¹⁴⁹ M Shed Museum, Bristol (2017), Sabbath Lamp Object Label, Bristol Places Gallery, 13 June.

¹⁵⁰ M Shed Museum, Bristol (2017), Sabbath Lamp Object Label, Bristol Places Gallery, 13 June.

¹⁵¹ M Shed Museum, Bristol (2017), Interactive Display, Bristol Places Gallery, 13 June.

¹⁵² M Shed Museum, Bristol (2017), Interactive Display, Bristol Places Gallery, 13 June.

Medieval Jewish Community',¹⁵³ rather than, as might be expected, an explanation of what the steps relate to. This example of misinformation appears to have been the result of a recent change to the interactive display, or perhaps technical error, as in 2016, Senior Museum Curator Gail Boyle, stated that the description of the steps read:

Stone lintel with Hebrew inscription, Jacobs Wells Road. Found above what is believed to be the only surviving ritual bath associated with Jewish burial rites ('bet tohorah'). The bath was situated opposite a medieval Jewish cemetery on Brandon Hill.¹⁵⁴

The latter description is clearly informative and introduces visitors to the significance of the steps in relation to the Bristol medieval Jewish community. Further, the use of the term 'believed to be'¹⁵⁵ alludes to the contested nature of the site, suggesting that the museum is either allowing for the fact that there may be other discoveries of this nature in England or acknowledging that the site may not be a *bet tohorah*.

Beyond the display of the steps leading down to the alleged *bet tohorah*, M Shed museum has had no involvement with the site.¹⁵⁶ A partial excavation revealed a springhead, 'consisting of a small rock-cut chamber entered by two stone steps and a low rectangular arch' (Hillaby and Sermon 2007: 97). The limestone lintel over the spring entrance displayed the remnants of a Hebrew inscription, described by Historians Joe Hillaby and Richard Sermon as, 'evidence that this is certainly a Jewish monument' (2007: 102; see Figure 17). However, translating the inscription has been problematic as it is incomplete and 'only one of the letters, *chet n*, can be read with confidence' (Hillaby and Sermon 2004: 129). Original interpretations made by Archaeologists Raphael Emanuel and Michael Ponsford suggested that the inscription could be read as *zokhlin*, or *Sochalim*, Hebrew for 'flowing' (1994: 75). It was proposed that the remaining plaster was possibly covering the word *mayim*, Hebrew for water, which would provide *mayim zochalim* (Emanuel and Ponsford 1994: 75). This term, flowing water, is used in the *Mishnah* (Oral Torah) to describe a *mikveh*; a ritual bath for 'brides before marriage, women after menstruation or childbirth, converts [to Judaism], or any ritually impure person or vessel requiring purification' (Steinmetz 2005: 112). The interpretation of the site as a *mikveh* was challenged by Hillaby who noted that the site would have been remote at the time, thus Jewish women would have been vulnerable as they made the journey to, what was in the twelfth-thirteenth

¹⁵³ M Shed Museum, Bristol (2017), Interactive Display, Bristol Places Gallery, 13 June.

¹⁵⁴ Gail Boyle. Senior Museum Coordinator at M Shed (2016), Email to Toni Griffiths, 09 August.

¹⁵⁵ Gail Boyle (2016), Email to Toni Griffiths, 09 August.

¹⁵⁶ Gail Boyle (2016), Email to Toni Griffiths, 09 August.

Figure 17: Hebrew inscription at the Scheduled Monument Mayan, Bristol (Hillaby and Sermon 2004: 129).



century, a hilly and isolated area (1990: 96). In turn, Joe Hillaby, Ian Blair, Isca Howell, Richard Sermon, and Bruce Watson considered alternative translations of the Hebrew inscription, noting that it could possibly read: *mayim tehorim* ('pure waters'), or *mayim chayim* ('living waters'). The latter refers 'to the type of water required to cleanse a person after contact with a corpse' (Blair, Hillaby, Howell, Sermon, and Watson 2001: 31). If correct, this would support the reinterpretation of the site as a *bet tohorah* (cleansing house for the dead) (Blair *et al* 2001; Hillaby and Sermon 2007). Hillaby and Sermon argue that there are other elements to support the *bet tohorah* interpretation including 'the close proximity of Jacob's Well to the medieval Jewish cemetery [and] the existence of medieval springs and conduits in the area' (Hillaby and Sermon 2007: 97).

In 2002, Historic England granted the site state protection as a 'Scheduled Monument' and refer to it as the 'Bet Tohorah at Jacob's Well Road' (2017a: [online]). The list entry states that in its capacity as a cleansing bath for the deceased, the site is 'unique... in this country, [and] possibly... the only one from an early period existing outside the Holy Land' (Historic England 2017a: [online]). However, it also acknowledges that the site has not been 'fully examined' (Historic England 2017a: [online]). The scope for further research is being addressed by regional representatives of Historic England, who have recently conducted more in-depth research at the site, taking detailed images of the Hebrew inscription using a method known as Structure from Motion, 'a tool for generating 3D models from 2D imagery' (Carrivick, Smith, and Quincey 2016: 5). Assistant Inspector of Ancient Monuments Hugh Beamish notes that the images will 'enable a detailed digital model to be constructed and manipulated to hopefully recover more detail'.¹⁵⁷ However, rather than providing clarity on the type of ritual bath that the site was used for, Beamish states that the results have introduced an alternative possibility, that the site is 'simply a water supply 'approved' for use by the Jewish medieval community'.¹⁵⁸ The impact of the new assessment will not be known until the study and further analysis has been completed; an article on this topic is currently in process by Archaeologist Richard Sermon and is expected in late 2018.

In contrast to the other interpretations of the Scheduled Monument in Bristol, Kadish is more sceptical and roots the site in its importance to local history, rather than to medieval Jewish history. Although discussing the monument in a guidebook to Jewish Heritage, Kadish highlights that it is 'unquestionably, an important site, forming part of Bristol's medieval watercourse' (2015: 122). Further, Kadish notes the ongoing 'controversy... over the identity of the underground spring' (2015:

¹⁵⁷ Hugh Beamish, Assistant Inspector of Ancient Monuments at Heritage England (2017), Email to Toni Griffiths, 13 November.

¹⁵⁸ Hugh Beamish (2017), Email to Toni Griffiths, 13 November.

121) and asserts that the Hebrew inscription is 'hardly legible' (2015: 121). The conclusion offered to readers of the guide is that the identification of the monument as a *bet tohorah* is 'based purely on the circumstantial fact of its proximity to the known location of the burial ground of Bristol's lost medieval Jewry on Brandon Hill' (2015: 121). However, the script is clear enough to indicate that it is indeed Hebrew and therefore has some connection to the Jewish community in the city.

The owner of the Scheduled Monument is a local, non-Jewish businessman, Steven Kavanagh, who owns the site with associates. Kavanagh has a more definitive perception regarding the identity of the site and asserts that 'religious artifacts [*sic*] etc may have been left in hidden chambers [by the medieval Jews] for later recovery',¹⁵⁹ describing it as possibly 'the Jewish equivalent of the opening of Tutankhamen's tomb' (Prideaux 2014: 2-3). As a result of these beliefs, Kavanagh has made a number of attempts to form collaborations in order to organise and finance further study and excavation of the site; this will be discussed further below. Kavanagh's frustration that such attempts have yet to be fruitful can be found in his comparison of the Scheduled Monument with the scale and success in Leicester following the discovery of the human remains of King Richard III in 2012. Kavanagh makes reference to the events, noting that 'We really do have a King in the Car Park [*sic*] scenario here'.¹⁶⁰ The Richard III discovery has had a substantial impact on the tourism for the city of Leicester, leading to the establishment of a visitor centre devoted to the discovery of the bones and their wider historical context.¹⁶¹ The tourism interest that the centre generated for Leicester explains, in part, why there was much dispute about where the King's remains should be reburied.¹⁶²

Kavanagh's anticipation that the steps of the site might 'possibly lead down further to more larger chambers',¹⁶³ and that within these vaults are the hidden valuable possessions of medieval Jews placed there before their expulsion in 1290, is problematic. Firstly, it reflects one of the oldest stereotypes about Jews that associates them with wealth (e.g. Foxman 2014). Secondly, Kavanagh's hopes are highly unlikely to be realised. As Hillaby and Hillaby note, at the time of the Jewish expulsion Bristol's 'community [was] in the last stages of [economic] decay' (Hillaby and Hillaby 2013: 64). Finally, such hopes triggered negative reactions from the local Jewish community who have subsequently had no involvement with the site since Kavanagh took over ownership in 2007. Tensions between Jewish and non-Jewish stakeholders were revealed in a letter to the *Bristol Post* from Alan

¹⁵⁹ Steven Kavanagh, Custodian of the *mayan* Scheduled Monument Site (2016), Email to Toni Griffiths, 15 April.

¹⁶⁰ Steven Kavanagh (2016), Email to Toni Griffiths, 19 April.

¹⁶¹ For the visitor centre webpage see: <https://web.archive.org/save/https://kriii.com/about-the-centre/>.

¹⁶² For further information see *The Bones of a King: Richard III Rediscovered* (Kennedy and Foxhall 2015).

¹⁶³ Steven Kavanagh (2016), Email to Toni Griffiths, 15 April.

Elkan, senior member of the Orthodox Jewish community. Elkan asserted that it was unlikely there was anything to be found at the site and that that the 'beleaguered community would have had nothing to bury and saw no prospect of ever returning to profit from such action' (2014: [online]). Elkan's response demonstrates sensitivity to the legacy of medieval anti-Jewish legislation in England, such as the 1275 Statute of the Jewry which prohibited Jews from moneylending and as such stripped them of their remaining wealth and means to generate new wealth (TNA E 164/9, fol. 31d). Kavanagh describes the impact of the letter as having made 'a big hole in the bit of good will we had managed to build up',¹⁶⁴ referring to the involvement of the Chief Rabbi (Anon 2015b).

Tensions between the Jewish and non-Jewish stakeholders involved with the Scheduled Monument are also evident in that the local Jewish community was not able to purchase the property which houses the site when it came up for auction in February 2007. In the previous January, the local Ashkenazi-Orthodox community, known as the Bristol Hebrew Congregation, appealed to the 'entire Jewish community to help save [the site]' (Kreiger 2007: [online]). The community was backed by the Board of Deputies, an organisation involved in professionally representing the British Jewish community in matters such as religious and civil liberties.¹⁶⁵ Ahead of the auction the site was open for viewing by prospective buyers, and another local Jewish group, the Bristol and West Progressive Jewish Congregation, took the opportunity to photograph and record the site in their March/April local newsletter (Lazarus 2007: 18-19). The newsletter suggests that efforts to purchase the site were supported by the Jews of Bristol as a united front: author Judy Lazarus expressed disappointment that they had been unsuccessful, as 'the notice was too short... to start a fund to try to purchase it' (2007: 18). Lazarus added that '[p]erhaps next time it comes up for sale the Jewish Community could try to buy it and restore it properly' (2007: 19).

The felt connection between local contemporary Jews and the medieval Jewish community, is evident in the local Jewish involvement with the Scheduled Monument; the links between modern and medieval Jews through shared identity, tradition, and ritual and liturgy were discussed in Chapters Three-Six of this thesis. Whilst there is little chance of any genealogical link, modern Jews in Bristol also demonstrate a connection to the medieval Jewish community through the use of inclusive language, such as 'our ancestors' (Lazarus 2007: 18). Similar language was used by Jews in Northampton, as will be shown in section two of this chapter. Further, an article in *The Jewish Chronicle* notes that '[a]lthough the mikveh is not functioning, we do get people coming to pray here'

¹⁶⁴ Steven Kavanagh (2016), Email to Toni Griffiths, 19 April.

¹⁶⁵ For the Board of Jewish Deputies website, see: <https://www.bod.org.uk/>.

(Kreiger 2007: [online]); the article was written before the reinterpretation of the site as a *bet tohorah*. The act of Jewish prayer at a site of historical importance is not only a way of paying respect but also, using the description by Religious Studies Scholars Arye Forta and Anne Geldart, of providing 'a sense of attachment to the whole of Jewish history [similar to] when modern Jews visit the ancient Biblical sites and other holy places' (1995: 151).

The potent connection between contemporary Jews and the medieval community can also be seen in the involvement of Bristol's local Jews as stakeholders of the site of the medieval Jewish cemetery at Brandon Hill (Forman 2014). In 2014, proposals were made by Queen Elizabeth Hospital School, current owners of the land, to build a new classroom block. However, contemporary Jews, along with other local residents, objected; the initial consultation phase for building met with 'a large amount of public interest [consisting of] 91 comments in objections and 46 comments in support... and a further round of consultation elicited a further 27 comments, almost all of which were objections to the scheme' (Sangway 2014: 1). Concerns were put forward to planners by the Bristol Hebrew Congregation and Bristol Jewish Burial Society about the safeguarding of medieval Jewish burials. Jewish leaders from Bristol 'accused the city council and [the] school of insensitivity after not being consulted' (Forman 2014: [online]). Investigations were carried out by Archaeologists under instruction from the planners however, although 'headstones were said to have been found during the construction of the school' in 1845 (Sangway 2014: 4), the archaeological reports did 'not suggest the presence of any deep archaeological [deposit]' (Sangway 2014: 4). As a result, planning permission was granted, and the new building was opened in 2016 (Quattro Design Architects 2016).

Returning to the Scheduled Monument, the role of Kavanagh and his associates in the preservation of the *Mayan* and search for hidden artefacts, is complicated by their intention to establish a financial enterprise at the site. The plan was to sell water from the spring situated a few feet away from the Scheduled Monument, and in 2011 they were granted a license to bottle 50,000,000 litres of water (within an undesignated time period) under the brand name *Jacobs Well Water* (Prideaux 2014). However, the business did not take off, and Kavanagh hoped instead to develop a learning centre at the site with the help of the Jewish community, based on the site's interpretation as a *bet tohorah* (Doherty 2015). However, after contacting the wider Jewish community to raise funds for further excavations, Kavanagh asserts that 'none... showed any interest to take the lead or give advice – And certainly no funding, or support to raise funding, to explore the site further'.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁶ Steve Kavanagh (2016), Email to Toni Griffiths, 19 April.

Having been unsuccessful with collaborating with the local Bristol community, Kavanagh sought to involve Bevis Marks Synagogue in London, who he contacted with hopes of replicating similar outcomes as that of the discovery of a medieval Jewish *mikveh* in Milk Street, London in 2001. The Bevis Marks' community were responsible for raising a substantial sum of money to dismantle the London *mikveh* 'block-by-block by Museum of London conservators, so that it could be rebuilt in a suitable setting' (MOLA 2010). After being 'stored at the London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre for several years' (MOLA 2010) it was finally 'installed on the ground floor of the... Jewish Museum' (MOLA 2010). The *mikveh* discovery in London 'caused tremendous excitement in the Jewish communities' (Blair *et al* 2001: 21) and resulted in their financial support as well as the establishment of a significant public display of the monument.

The response from Bevis Marks Synagogue however, was not what Kavanagh had hoped for. The success of the London *mikveh* project was integrally linked to the proximity of a wealthy Jewish community who had actively been involved with the site from the point of its discovery; indeed representatives from Bevis Marks said they were not able to help with the Bristol monument as it 'was out of their area'.¹⁶⁷ The detachment of the London community in this way suggests that the connection between contemporary and medieval Jewish communities, at least in terms of financial aid for the preservation of built heritage, is restricted by local boundaries. Further, it is notable that the *mikveh* in London had a clear medieval Jewish identity unlike the alleged *bet tohorah* in Bristol. The Milk Street *mikveh* was both 'substantially built' (Blair *et al* 2001: 25) and of a 'high standard' (Blair *et al* 2001: 27). Also, the associations with the medieval Jewish community were evident in that it 'was built during the mid-thirteenth century' (Blair *et al* 2001: 31), and '[i]n 1290 the property... was occupied by a Jew, Moses Crespin, who had inherited it from his father Jacob (who had died c. 1244)' (Blair *et al* 2001: 30); the Bristol *Mayan* has none of this contextual information.

The unsuccessful funding bid by the local Jewish community to purchase the *bet tohorah* site in Bristol, and the inability of a London community to financially assist Kavanagh is representative of wider issues regarding the protection and preservation of Anglo-Jewish sites. Alex Goldberg, Director of Community Issues at the Board of Deputies, highlighted that there is a 'need for a national strategy or trust fund for the preservation of Jewish heritage sites' (Kreiger 2007: [online]). Kadish too argues that the physical Jewish heritage in England has largely been neglected, due to declining numbers of Jews (2006: 29). However, it should be noted, that David Graham and Jonathon Boyd, from the Institute for Jewish Policy Research, and Daniel Vulkan, British Board of Deputies suggest that in fact,

¹⁶⁷ Steven Kavanagh (2016), Email to Toni Griffiths, 19 April.

‘the Jewish population has remained static’ (2012: 4). Regardless of the actual number of Jews in England and Wales today, there has been a fall since its post-war peak from approximately 450,000 to around 263,000 according to the 2011 census (Office for National Statistics 2012). Thus, Kadish founded Jewish Heritage UK in 2004, to protect the ‘British Jewry’s material cultural heritage, covering synagogues and cemeteries, and also moveable property such as artefacts, archives and ritual objects’ (1997-2017: [online]). However, as demonstrated above, Kadish has reservations about the identity of the *bet tohorah* and this adds to the challenges faced by attempts to bring medieval Anglo-Jewish history into the contemporary public domain.

In recent years, Kavanagh’s attempts to generate financial contributions to enable further study on the *Mayan* site have also been unsuccessful. In 2015, the Scheduled Monument was temporarily opened to the public to promote its historical significance however, this was not sustainable and it was soon closed due to issues with accessibility to the site, which are explored further below. After a failed bid for funding from the National Lottery Heritage Fund, Kavanagh also appealed for funds in *The Jewish Chronicle* to analyse and explore the site without compromising the structure (Doherty 2015). The public appeal was linked to a crowdfunding website with a target total of £500,000 however, the project did not receive any donations.¹⁶⁸ Finally, Kavanagh contacted a number of independent film and television companies, with the idea of creating a drama ‘following the lives of a Jewish family from... 1066 [through] many years of success and prosperity before being cruelly expelled ‘in the clothes they stood in’ by Edward the First in 1290’. The programme was intended to be ‘intercut with the actual Documentry [*sic*] exploration of the Mikveh [*sic*]’.¹⁶⁹ However, negotiations were apparently halted by the interest of Bristol University and other attempts by Kavanagh to collaborate with the University of Winchester to conduct an academic-led exploration of the site.¹⁷⁰ No outcome from these pursuits have been identified largely due to the site being a Scheduled Monument with limited access.

Although the categorical purpose of the Scheduled Monument is contested, it is still significant in Bristol as a ‘nationally important archaeological site’ (Historic England 2018: [online]) and as a cultural heritage site; the definition of this, as put forward by the International Council of Monuments and Sites, is an ‘archaeological site, or standing structure that is recognized and... legally protected as a place of historical and cultural significance’ (Historic England 2008: 2). As discussed in the Literature Review, cultural heritage is inextricably intertwined with the issue of accessibility (Sørmoen 2009) and

¹⁶⁸ The website is no longer live: Steven Kavanagh (2016), Email to Toni Griffiths, 19 April.

¹⁶⁹ Steven Kavanagh (2016), Email to Toni Griffiths, 19 April.

¹⁷⁰ Steven Kavanagh (2016), Email to Toni Griffiths, 19 April.

it is notable that the Bristol site, is not physically accessible to the public as it is privately owned and the adjoining apartment is often rented out to private tenants. Historic England notes that this is not unusual in England, as the 'vast majority of heritage assets are in private ownership' (2017b). Private sites are not obliged to be publicly accessible whereas publicly owned sites, which are legally covered by the *Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act, Section 19* (1979), must be made open to the public, except in certain circumstances. If the Bristol site were accessible to regular visitors there would be many practical challenges to overcome: the site is small, below ground level, the entry arch is low (Historic England 2017a), and overall it is in poor physical condition.¹⁷¹ In 2007 a local Jewish visitor described it as having 'a seriously broken floor in front of it and therefore very little space to position for photographs' (Lazarus 2007: 18-19), and in 2016 a visit to the site and attempts to take photographs by Welch, confirmed the same (see Figure 18).¹⁷² The physical restrictions to the site highlight the importance of the alternative form of access suggested by Sørmoen: accessibility to knowledge and experience (2009: 13). This is achieved in Bristol through the ongoing analysis of the site's purpose and has been demonstrated by the works of Emanuel, Ponsford, Hillaby, Sermon, and English Heritage, as discussed above. These works also confirm the role of the site as a feature of Bristol's cultural heritage, as the ongoing research and public engagement encouraged by the England's 'Past for Everyone' project fulfils Sørmoen's definition that cultural heritage 'has meaning only through its encounter with people' (2009: 7).

Having considered the challenges associated with the interpretation and public presentation of the medieval lamp and the Scheduled Monument *Mayan* separately in terms of local Jewish history and memory, it is also important to assess what they can reveal when they are compared. Tensions can be identified in the context of private and public accessibility both physically and in terms of knowledge or information. The lamp is on display at M Shed where access to general displays is free to the public (M Shed 2017); although there are some temporary exhibitions that have gated access and give visitors the option to make a donation for entry. As demonstrated above, the information about the lamp supports one interpretation of the artefact. However, the need for a concise and easily readable object label limits the visitor's access to knowledge in that there is no indication of the contested nature of the artefact's identity. Further, there is also a lack of additional information available to the public on the topic of the lamp and medieval Jews in general, in any of the pamphlets, brochures, or books available to purchase in the gift shop.¹⁷³

¹⁷¹ Christina Welch (2016), Personal Conversation with Toni Griffiths, 26 May.

¹⁷² Christina Welch (2016), Personal Conversation with Toni Griffiths, 26 May.

¹⁷³ Toni Griffiths (2017), Visit to M Shed Museum by Toni Griffiths, 13 June.

Figure 18: The Scheduled Monument *Mayan*, Bristol © Welch 2016.



In contrast to the lamp, the Scheduled Monument is not generally accessible to the public, except by invitation by the owners. Although, the adjoining flat is, as previously noted, regularly rented out by the current owners, rendering the site largely inaccessible.¹⁷⁴ However, Kavanagh has been willing to share his knowledge of the site with academics and other interested parties; this information ranges from his interpretation of the site's history to his current research plans, and from his purchase of the site to his interactions with different Jewish communities and interested parties, as well as the potential development of Jacobs Well Water company.¹⁷⁵ Therefore, the notable difference between the two alleged pieces of tangible evidence from Bristol's medieval Jewish past is that there is more information available to the visitors who gain access through Kavanagh, to a private site, than there is to those who visit the public museum. This situation, however, demonstrates that there is potential for the development of public facing information in each case. It is important to note that redeveloping object labels and interpretations is expensive, although the need to supplement the lamp with additional information about the medieval Jewish community could be facilitated in a cost-friendly manner by providing more literature in the gift shop. However, it should be noted that making information available through the act of purchase provides a further barrier to public access.

Another way that public engagement with medieval Jewish history could be developed in Bristol is through walking tours. Historians such as Colin Richmond have called for the integration of Jewish history into wider historical narratives, rather than dealing with this part of history separately; Richmond asks, 'why does it have to be a history of the Jews of medieval Oxford which discusses the Jews of Oxford in the Middle Ages?' (1992: 43). However, in the context of walking tours that are focused specifically and separately on Jewish history, there has been a considerable amount of success, as demonstrated in Chapter Four. Walking tours have raised the public profile of medieval Jewish history and thus contributed to the turning of the tide away from omission and marginalisation, which have previously characterised the treatment of this aspect of the past; indeed, the *Medieval Jewish Trail* features in the 2018 Winchester Festival. The situation in Bristol is different in that local medieval Jewish history has featured in wider historical narratives of the city, such as the *Bristol Diversity Trail*: a walking tour designed for school pupils aged 5-14 with a focus on multi-ethnic history (Smart 2008), which has already been effective in publicly acknowledging a previously omitted aspect of local history. However, due to the evolving interpretations of the Scheduled Monument, the contested nature of the lamp, it is reasonable to suggest that a specifically focused medieval Jewish walking tour would provide one way of addressing these otherwise publicly marginalised aspects of

¹⁷⁴ Steven Kavanagh (2016), Email to Toni Griffiths, 13 May.

¹⁷⁵ Steven Kavanagh (2016), Email to Toni Griffiths, 19 April.

local history. It must be noted, however, that the development of new projects and acknowledgement of changing interpretations comes at a financial cost, thus indicating a further challenge of publicly representing medieval Jewish history.

As has been demonstrated in Winchester, York, and Norwich case studies, one of the main challenges for producing a walking tour on local medieval Jewish history is the temptation to embrace the popular 'Horrible Histories' approach. The pitfall of this approach can be found in that it presents a skewed version of this aspect of history to visitors, focusing exclusively on the negative at the expense of other areas such as everyday life. Indeed, the challenge of creating a balanced history of the medieval Jews in an environment where tourists are receptive to the darker side of the past is that there are many aspects of Bristol's Jewish history that lend themselves to this approach. For example, in 1210, England's Jews were imprisoned *en masse* at Bristol castle. At this time 'all the Jews throughout England, of both sexes, were seized, imprisoned, and tortured severely, in order to do the king's will with their money' (Roger of Wendover 1849: 252).¹⁷⁶ The remains of the castle are now largely buried and it is protected as a Scheduled Monument in a public open space (Bristol City Council 2006). However, there is minimal interpretation at the site.

Other examples of negative medieval Jewish history in Bristol are evident in the literary record, again in 1210, when Abraham the Jewish merchant refused to pay his allotted portion of the Bristol tallage, or tax. English chronicler, Roger of Wendover states that, '[Abraham] one of this sect at Bristol, even after being dreadfully tortured still refused to ransom himself or put an end to his sufferings, on which the king [John] ordered his agents to knock one out of his cheek-teeth daily, until he paid ten thousand marks of silver to him' (Roger of Wendover 1849: 253).¹⁷⁷ Abraham relented after seven days, and having lost seven teeth and paid the final sum (Roger of Wendover 1849: 253). Further, the Jews of Bristol were violently assaulted and the entire Jewish area set on fire in 1275 (Adler 1939a: 226, 228), and they suffered greatly during the Coin Clipping crisis 1276-79 (Hillaby and Hillaby 2013: 63). Therefore, it is evident that a rounded history of medieval Jewish history in Bristol would need to be actively sought.

¹⁷⁶ The original Latin reads: '*Deinde, rege jubente, capti sunt Judaei per totam Angliam utriusque sexus et incarcerate poenisque gravissimis afflicti, ut de pecunia sua regis facerent voluntatem*' (Roger of Wendover 1841: 231).

¹⁷⁷ The original Latin reads: '*inter quos unus apud Bristollum variis dilaceratus tormentis, cum se redimere nec finem facere voluisset, jussit rex tortoribus suis, ut diebus singulis unum ex molaribus excuterent dentibus, donec regi decem millia marcas argenti persolvisset*' (Roger of Wendover 1841: 232).

One further aspect of Bristol's medieval Jewish history provides another insight into everyday life punctuated by violence and persecution. In the mid-thirteenth century, Bristol's Jewry were the subject of a tale of ritual murder, first noted by Librarian and Antiquarian Humphrey Wanley in the eighteenth-century *Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (1808: 484). Historian Robert Stacey has described the account of ritual murder as unique in that it is 'intensely visual' and goes to 'lurid lengths in describing the tortures inflicted upon its victim' (2007: 14). A ritual murder accusation would, undoubtedly, add to a focus on the dark history of Bristol. However, the manuscript that details the events also highlights that there were 'easy and regular... neighbourly interactions... between Jews and Christians in mid-thirteenth century Bristol' (Stacey 2007: 11). Notably, Stacey notes that the author 'goes out of his way to note... that Samuel's [the accused] maidservant is a Christian' (2007: 11), and that Samuel goes to 'borrow some tools from his Christian neighbours' (2007: 7). Stacey's assertion highlights that, although complicated in its presence within a ritual murder text, there is evidence of positive relations between the two communities in Bristol, something that is also demonstrated by 'general concerns with Jews and Christians eating together at the same table, or engaging in other sorts of neighbourly interactions such as attending weddings' (2007: 11, Roth 1964: 20). Interactions between Jews and Christians in this way contribute an alternative narrative to the 'Horrible Histories' approach.

Narratives focused on 'Horrible Histories' and the negative aspects of medieval Anglo-Jewish history are characteristic of public approaches to acknowledging this aspect of the past (Chapters Four-Six). This trend is also reflected in Bristol through Dresser and Fleming's book *Bristol: Ethnic Minorities and the City 1000-2001* (2007), which informed the previously mentioned *Bristol Diversity Trail*. *Bristol* (2007) focuses on the role of local Jews as moneylenders, noting that they 'operated as bankers, lending money on interest, a practice known as usury... Jews lent money both to the Crown and its subjects' (2007: 9), and that in Bristol, both 'male and female Jews engaged in money-lending' (2007: 17). However, despite the success in recognising medieval Jewish history within a wider historical narrative this interpretation equally confines Jews to one occupation, and also, therefore, social class as it was only the wealthier Jews that acted as financiers. Further, the broader spectrum of daily life and activity is not acknowledged. In turn, as with the perception that there are treasures to be found in at the Scheduled Monument site, this position employs the use of another ingrained stereotype that all Jews in medieval England were moneylenders (Mell 2017: 1). That Jews were more than just moneylenders, is evident in local documentary sources, such as the Receipt Rolls of Henry III, which note families such as the Furmagiers (TNA E 401-5). The last name Furmagier derives from the Norman-French term *fourmagier*, 'with which the modern word *fromage* is connected' (Adler

1928:136-137), hence the family were presumably cheesemongers or dealers in farm produce. Isaac Furmager was the head of one of the Jewish community's leading families, and his contributions to Bristol's portion of royally-imposed taxes on the Jewish community were considerable (Hillaby and Hillaby 2013: 62). Hillaby and Hillaby note that this type of business would have been essential in the port city for 'vessels voyaging any distance' (2013: 62). Thus, this family would provide an excellent example of alternative occupations of the Jews of England and could be utilised to broaden the popular focus in public outputs that often focuses on English Jews as moneylenders.

A rounded interpretation of medieval Jewish history in Bristol would also need to incorporate the Scheduled Monument, in any of its three interpretations, and the alleged medieval lamp. In doing so the public would be given broader insights into the experiences of living, working, and ritually practicing medieval Jews. Such an interpretation would also provide a platform from which to dispel the widely accepted myth that Bristol was where one of the first *Domus Conversorum*, or school of converts, was established in 1154. The myth originated from a mistranslation and it was corrected in the final edition of Cecil Roth's edition of *History of the Jews in England* (1964: 43 n. 2). In fact, the earliest mention of a community in Bristol was in 1185 (TNA E372/31) however, the misinterpretation can still be found in a number of texts that deal with local medieval Jewish history, including Emanuel and Ponsford's, 'Jacob's Well, Bristol: Britain's Only Known Medieval Jewish Ritual Bath (Mikveh) (1994: 73-86), and Judith Samuel, *Jews in Bristol* (1997: 21).

Northampton

In the 1840s, a fragment (the top right-hand corner) of a medieval tombstone was found in Princes Street, Northampton, 'after being lodged for several centuries in a wall' (Mundill 2010: 55; see Figure 19). The artefact was stored in the cellar of the Northampton Museum and Art Gallery and 'forgotten' about until 1987, when it was rediscovered by the keeper of archaeology, Robert Moore (Roberts 1992: 173). For two years the tombstone was on display at the museum, and 'not much was known about it' at this time.¹⁷⁸ In 1989, local Historian and member of the Jewish community, Marcus Roberts shared with the museum more about the 'meaning, history and significance' of the tombstone.¹⁷⁹ Following interactions between the museum and Roberts, the artefact was recognised for the first time as 'major proof of the

¹⁷⁸ Marcus Roberts (2016), Interview with Toni Griffiths, 30 June.

¹⁷⁹ Marcus Roberts (2016), Interview with Toni Griffiths, 30 June.

Figure 19: Medieval Jewish tombstone, Northampton, (Hillaby and Hillaby 2013: 370).



medieval Jews in Northampton and [physical] proof that they had actually established a cemetery'.¹⁸⁰

The Northampton tombstone is unique as it is the only one that is on public display in England; others found in London, Bristol, and Cambridge were all subsequently reused in new building works or were lost (Hillaby and Hillaby 2013: 370). Unlike other medieval Anglo-Jewish artefacts, such as the lamp in Bristol, the identity of the tombstone is not contested. What remains of a four-line inscription written in Hebrew (see Figure 19) clearly determines the identity and purpose of the stone; it has been translated to read: 'This is the tombstone of... the learned Solomon' (Hillaby and Hillaby 2013: 369). Similar discoveries have been made in Europe, and consistencies have been found in the simple design and the projecting rectangular frame which 'strongly resembles those twelfth- and thirteenth-century Ashkenazic tombstones still standing in Worms and to be seen in the Cologne museum' (Hillaby and Hillaby 2013: 369-70).

Ascribing an exact date to the tombstone is less straightforward than identifying its purpose. Roberts proclaims that it originates from between 1259-1290, based on the assertion that the medieval Jewry 'did not have a cemetery until at least 1259 [and] this was closed in 1290 on the general expulsion of the Jews from England' (1992: 176). In 1259 a charter was issued which noted that the Jewish community had arranged to bury their dead in Northampton with the permission of, and with rent payable to, St Andrew's Priory. However, the original deed was lost when the city was seized by King Henry III and a new charter had to be made in 1271 with the details of the 1259 agreement (British Museum, Add Ch 71355). The English translation states:

the Prior and Convent aforesaid gave us permission to bury our dead whether of our own city or of other 3 cities in a plot of ground which is/ outside the North gate of Northampton... (Collins 1939: 160).¹⁸¹

The charter identifies 1259 as the date that Northampton's Jewish community began leasing land to bury their dead, thus providing, according to Roberts, the earliest date for the tombstone. However, there are arguments that the tombstone is older than Roberts' claim; Hillaby and Hillaby, and Local Historian Michael Jolles, note that a Jewish cemetery could have existed prior to 1259 (Hillaby and

¹⁸⁰ Marcus Roberts (2016), Interview with Toni Griffiths, 30 June.

¹⁸¹ The original Hebrew reads:

אונדרייא והקובנטא מאותו / מקום זאת לדעת שבאותו התותם
הנקוב הפריאור והקובנטא הנקובים נתנו לנו רשות לקבור מתנו
הן מעירנו הן מעיירות אחרות בקרקע אחד אשר / מחוץ
לשער גורט מנורהונטונא ובעבור אותו רשות נתננו להם
ארבעים פשיטים מס לשנה ואותו החותם המבואר אבדנו (Collins 1939: 160).

Hillaby 2013: 18; Jolles 1996: 10). This earlier dating claim is based on the early thirteenth-century chronicler Roger of Howden, who in his record of the death of Benedict the Jew, appears to refer to a cemetery in Northampton by 1189. Benedict had become a Christian and then reverted to his former religion which resulted in his being refused burial as a Christian, or a Jew, after he died in Northampton (Roger of Howden 1853: 120).¹⁸² However, the source is not explicit in precisely where Benedict was refused burial, only that he died in Northampton therefore whilst this earlier dating claim is important, it is debatable. Interestingly Archaeologist Marjorie Honeybourne notes that the distance between Northampton and the original Jewish cemetery in London was ‘only sixty miles [thus] burials may have taken place there’ (1964: 156); travelling with the medieval Jewish dead was discussed in Chapter Three, and it would have been possible that Benedict was interred in the London Jewish cemetery.

But regardless of the dating of the cemetery, the undisputed identity and purpose of the medieval Jewish tombstone allow for a more straightforward assessment of the public facing display at Northampton Museum and Art Gallery. However, since 2017 the museum has been closed for expansion and redevelopment, and it is not possible to assess the previous display of the artefact in the Hamtun Gallery of the Museum that dated from 1980, as there is no published record of its content. The refurbishment of the museum is being funded by the controversial sale of the Egyptian statue Sekhemka, which ‘caused outrage [in 2014] and subsequently saw the museum stripped of its Arts Council England accreditation... until 2019’ (Clark 2016: [online]). Therefore, the projected date for reopening the Museum is late 2019 (Northampton Borough Council 2017a) and whilst this date is out of the timeframe of this thesis, personal correspondence with Museum Registrar, Paul Robinson, notes that the tombstone will ‘return to public display in the [new] History Gallery of the museum’.¹⁸³ Currently, no further information about the content of the display is available from the curators as plans ‘are still being discussed and developed’ for the reopening in 2019.¹⁸⁴ In this way, the display and treatment of medieval Jewish history in Northampton are similar to that in York, as both the Museum and Art Gallery and Clifford’s Tower are currently in the midst of a redesign process.

¹⁸² Howden states:

But, inasmuch as there was no person to offer any opposition thereto, the before-named William relapsed into the Jewish errors, and after a short time died at Northampton; on which he was refused both the usual sepulture of the Jews as also that of the Christians (Roger of Howden 1853: 120).

The original Latin reads:

Sed quia non erat qui resisteret, praefactus Willelmus reversus est ad Judaicam pravitatem, qui postmodum parvo interlapso tempore obit apud Northamptoniam, et factus est alienus a communi sepultura Judaeorum, similiter et Christianorum (Roger of Hovedean 1870:12-13).

¹⁸³ Paul Robinson, Museum Registrar at Northampton Museum and Art Gallery (2018), Email to Toni Griffiths, 18 January.

¹⁸⁴ Paul Robinson (2018), Email to Toni Griffiths, 19 January.

Redevelopments in Northampton and York represent the opportunity to fully address medieval Jewish history in a public context, although at this stage it is not possible to assess how successful these new interpretations are, as they have yet to be implemented. However, preliminary assessments regarding the approach of Northampton Museum and Art Gallery towards its design can be made based on information in the public domain, which notes that prior to the reopening in 2019 museum staff will ‘work closely with academics from across the world... to ensure that it becomes an internationally significant destination’ (Northampton Borough Council 2017b: [online]). The collaborative effort between the Museum staff and academics, reflects the curatorial approach of the M Shed museum in Bristol, as explored above. Although unlike Bristol, the collaboration in Northampton only relates to certain areas of the museum, and at present, there are no plans to consult ‘with medieval historians about the medieval Jewish history display [in] the new History Gallery’.¹⁸⁵

Although no information is available regarding the previous, and also upcoming, display of the medieval tombstone, the public accessibility to the artefact in a museum setting has had a seemingly positive impact on the study of medieval Jewish history in Northampton. The tombstone provides definitive evidence of the presence of a medieval Jewish cemetery in Northampton and also inspired Marcus Roberts to conduct further research into its exact location which was, until recently unknown.¹⁸⁶ Roberts created a profile of a medieval Jewish cemetery and applied it to a map from the Northampton archive, known as the Marcus Pierce map, dated 1632 (Roberts 1992: 176). The map provides ‘a true Plot and description of al the Ancient Demesne Lands belonginge to the Priorye of St Andrews’ (see Figure 20), and only one place fulfilled the criteria of Roberts’ profile: Temple Bar, ‘a triangular plot, outside the north gate, as the site of the cemetery’ (Hillaby and Hillaby 2013: 94).

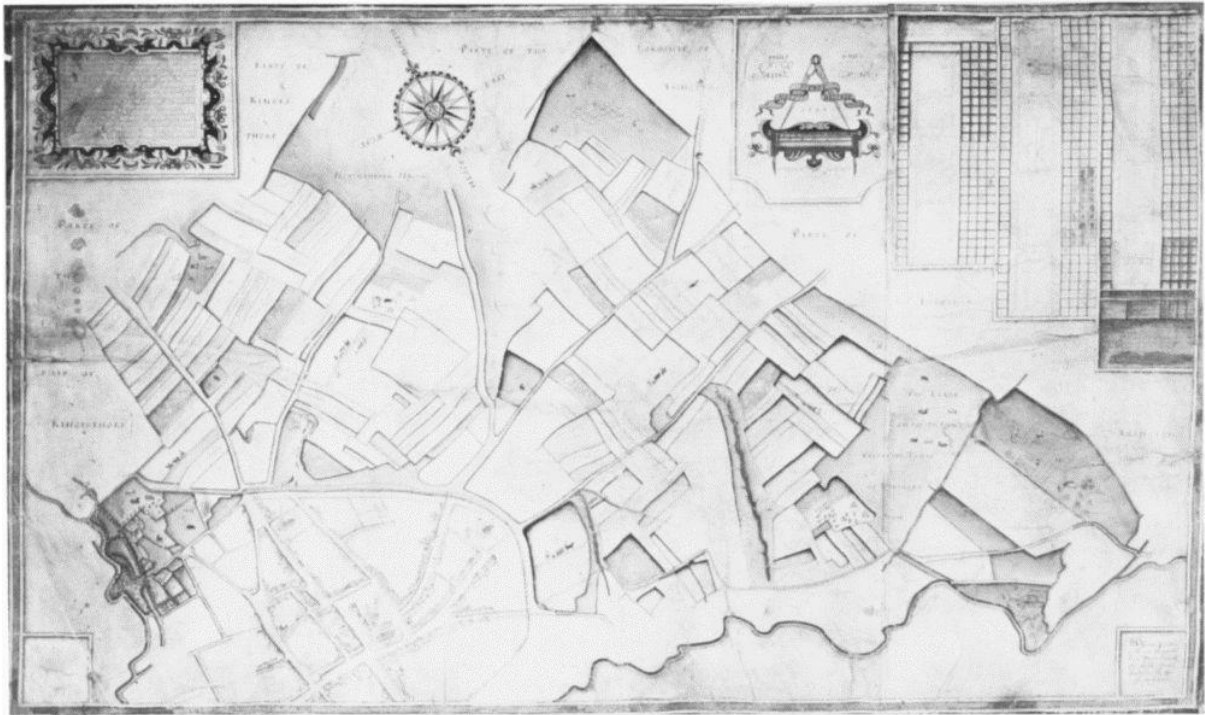
In 1992, a Victorian brick culvert collapsed in Temple Bar, Northampton, revealing up to five human skeletons, ‘only 15 [metres] from the projected centre of [the] enclosure’ profiled by Roberts as the medieval Jewish cemetery (Roberts 1992: 176). Evidence of three articulated individuals were observed and ‘up to two further skeletons were possibly present in the collapsing trench sides’ (HER 1160/43/1). Roberts utilised his research to suggest to archaeologists that the remains could be medieval Jews,¹⁸⁷ and this was supported by the alignment of the skeletons which was ‘east-west, with their heads facing east [or] west’ (Cadman 1992: 2); Jewish tradition dictates that the dead

¹⁸⁵ Paul Robinson (2018), Email to Toni Griffiths, 25 January.

¹⁸⁶ Marcus Roberts (2016), Interview with Toni Griffiths, 30 June.

¹⁸⁷ Marcus Roberts (2016), Interview with Toni Griffiths, 30 June.

Figure 20: The Marcus Pierce Map (Royal Commission on Historical Monuments 1985: [online]).



should be buried facing east-west (Heilman 2001: 96). However, the combination of these two elements alone was not sufficient to ascribe a definitive identity to the human remains.

The identification of the remains within the context of a probable medieval Jewish cemetery was problematic for several reasons. Firstly, 'no grave cuts were observed' (Cadman 1992: 3). Although as Archaeologist Graham Cadman notes, such markings 'could easily have escaped detection in the conditions prevailing' (1992: 3) and therefore this lack suggests more about the complexities of rescue archaeology rather than suggesting the site was not a cemetery. Secondly, there was 'a paucity of... dating evidence', thus no secure date can be attached to the remains, an issue which, as above, was affected by 'the conditions of its recovery' (Cadman 1992: 3). Ordinarily, archaeologists utilise 'conventional relative... methods such as looking at... typologies of artefacts' (Roberts, C. 2009: 214), to date human remains. However, in this case, there were only two other finds discovered in addition to the human remains a 'clay pipe fragment and a single medieval pottery sherd' (Cadman 1992: 3). The lack of additional evidence meant that 'no firm conclusion can be drawn as to the date of the burials until such time as further evidence is available' (Cadman 1992: 3). Thirdly, there were no other past archaeological discoveries from this area to aid the investigations as the finds from the Victorian culvert were the first to be recorded (Cadman 1992:1). Finally, further study on the remains revealed little additional information regarding the identification of the human remains. In 1993, archaeologist Ann Stirland conducted a report on the excavated bones and concluded that the 'three main individuals are all adults and consist of a mature female, a male, and a ?male. No teeth survive from any individual and all the bone is broken post-mortem. There is very little pathology' (1993: 1). Further evidence was therefore required to identify the human remains and to validate Roberts' claim that they were Jewish, and according to a local newspaper 'radiocarbon dating [was] carried out on the strength of research by Jewish historian Marcus Roberts' (Buckingham 2010: 21). However, it is important to note that the results are limited in that they 'should be considered as ranges of possible ages and not absolute dates' (Roberts, C. 2009: 213), and there are no official reports about the radiocarbon dating of these bones available in the public domain. Marcus Roberts states that the results suggested a date range that was in accordance with the period of the medieval Jewish cemetery¹⁸⁸ within the general time frame of the twelfth to thirteenth century. The compiled evidence was enough to convince Roberts and also the local Jewish community that the remains were medieval and Jewish, thus reburial was put forward as the desired outcome in accordance with Jewish

¹⁸⁸ Marcus Roberts (2016), Interview with Toni Griffiths, 30 June.

law. It should be noted that there are no published records relating to the radiocarbon dating and the challenges of ascribing a date to the remains, including the presence of the clay pipe, were not acknowledged by Roberts in his identification of the remains as positively medieval Jewish.¹⁸⁹ To aid the argument that the human remains were Jewish, Roberts arranged an archaeological investigation with Forensic Archaeologist Caroline Sturdy Colls from Birmingham University in 2009 on the area where the remains were found. The survey was conducted with a view to discovering new evidence relating to the medieval Jewish cemetery using resistivity as a non-intrusive method by 'passing an electrical current through the ground [to] determine if there had been graves at the site in the past' (Anon 2009b: [online]).

The 2009 study of the alleged cemetery site was significant as its execution involved a unique collaboration between Northampton's Orthodox Jewish community and representatives of the Haredi community. The latter came from outside the town and actively contributed to the investigations using divining rods, or forked sticks, which are believed to be able to find things beneath the ground; however, this is usually relevant to searches for water and is not a recognised archaeological practice.¹⁹⁰ The unity of the two communities working together highlights a contrasting approach between this case study and others explored in this thesis, such as York and Winchester, where authoritative and sometimes forceful action was either attempted or taken by Haredi groups. In the case of Winchester, as noted Haredi Jews intervened with the reburial of medieval Jewish human remains based on the claim that there was no Jewish community in the city, neglecting to recognise the local Reform Jews. There are undeniably closer links between Haredi and Orthodox Jews than between Haredi and Reform Jews, and thus it can be reasonably supposed that it was this which led to the unified presence in the Northampton cemetery investigation.

The results of Roberts' and Sturdy Colls' exploration of the cemetery site are problematic in that as with the radiocarbon dating testing and investigations on the site of the synagogue (discussed below), the official report has yet to be published and the only data that is accessible is through a local newspaper article (Buckingham 2010: 21).¹⁹¹ Despite these limitations, however, the results were described in the *Northampton Chronicle & Echo* as having revealed 'possible, further burials and suggested the cemetery covered at least an acre' (Buckingham 2010: 21). This outcome added further

¹⁸⁹ Marcus Roberts (2016), Interview with Toni Griffiths, 30 June.

¹⁹⁰ Roberts has photographs of the Ultra-Orthodox with the divining rods, and also with other members of the community 'posing' with the equipment: Marcus Roberts (2016), Interview with Toni Griffiths, 30 June.

¹⁹¹ Attempts to obtain reports directly from Forensic Archaeologist Caroline Sturdy Colls were unsuccessful.

weight to the theory that the site was used for burying the medieval Jewish dead and as such, has had a direct impact on the human remains in that it 'persuaded Northampton Borough Council's museum services, the official custodians of the remains, to release the bones to the community so they could be reburied' (Buckingham 2010: 21).

Repatriation for reburial began in December 2009, shortly after the investigation, when the President of the Northampton Hebrew Congregation formally requested 'permission' from the museum to rebury the Jewish remains.¹⁹² Northampton Museums Services appear to have immediately supported the request, informing the community about the due process of consulting Northamptonshire Field Archaeology regarding the decision, but asserting that there would need to be 'significant scientific reasons why they should recommend that reburial does not take place'.¹⁹³ In direct contrast with the Norwich case, reburial was supported by all parties in Northampton: indeed principal archaeologist Steve Parry of Northamptonshire Field Archaeology replied that 'the bones can be reburied without further recording... because the remains lack good provenance due to the difficult conditions of the salvage excavation'.¹⁹⁴ Notably, all documentation regarding the deaccessioning of the human remains, collated from a Freedom of Information request to Northampton Borough Council, presents a straightforward process for repatriation to the Jewish community from the point of the formal request to the reburial service in 2010.¹⁹⁵

The reburial of the medieval Jewish remains in Northampton has some similarities with Norwich and York. Firstly, there is a strong sense of connection felt by the contemporary Jewish communities with the medieval Jews, who are, according to Roberts, considered in Northampton as 'fore-bearers' (Roberts 2011a). Further, at the reburial service, the President of the Northampton Hebrew Congregation commented that 'we [the community] feel proud our ancestors going back so many hundreds of years are now at peace again'. (Buckingham 2010: 21). Secondly, both the Reformed Jewish community of Norwich and, more controversially, the Orthodox community of Northampton condoned the retention of bone samples from the human remains prior to reburial.

An email from Marcus Roberts to Sophie Cabot, Engagement Manager at HEART, following the Cold Case programme noted that prior to reburial of the Northampton medieval Jews, it had been

¹⁹² John Josephs, President of Northampton Hebrew Congregation (2009), Letter to Jerry Weber, 6 December.

¹⁹³ Jerry Weber, Collections & Information Access Officer at Northampton Museums Service (2009), Email to John Josephs, 16 December.

¹⁹⁴ Steve Parry, Principal Archaeologist (2010), Letter to Jerry Weber, 5 April.

¹⁹⁵ Stephanie Everitt, Legal Assistant at Northampton Borough Council (2018), Email to Toni Griffiths, 6 February.

‘arranged for DNA samples to be taken and retained for future analysis, as the final part of the investigation, though [there are] no means to do so yet’.¹⁹⁶ Further, the form for the ‘Transfer-Reburial’ of remains in Northampton, dated 16 May 2010, confirms the removal of the human bones from the Museum Services into the care of the John Josephs of the Northampton Hebrew Congregation and lists three boxes. It is signed on behalf of the ‘museum’ and the ‘remover’ to acknowledge that the information on the list was correct. However, next to the museum signature box there is an asterisk relating to an additional section of information below the list which reads ‘3 sample pieces returned, reboxed [redacted]’ (Northampton Museum and Art Gallery 2010: 1). The words are scored out, but the number of samples is consistent with the number of individuals excavated from the site of the collapsed culvert in 1992 (Stirland 1993: 1). In addition, the next part of the form notes ‘permanent repatriation of remains. Not to be returned to the Museum’, with an addition made two days later (18 May 2010), of ‘[t]hree sample pieces returned and boxed’ (Northampton Museum and Art Gallery 2010). The email and the Museum paperwork, therefore, suggests that bone samples were retained by Northampton, as they were in Norwich.

The issue of DNA sampling is an extremely sensitive topic, as was discussed in Chapter Six. The sampling of DNA in the Northampton case study is particularly noteworthy as the reburial of the remains was organised by the traditionally more observant Orthodox community, although they gave their consent. Further, the investigation to identify the medieval Jewish cemetery and the reburial service was conducted alongside representatives of the Haredi community. For an Orthodox community to condone the removal of DNA samples from Jewish human remains is complicated as Jewish Law, *Halakha*, states that human remains ‘may not be moved for the sake of tests that offend the dignity of the dead. They must be reburied immediately with due respect’ (Einhorn 1997: 49).

The form for the ‘Transfer-Reburial’ of remains in Northampton shows that the samples were returned (Northampton Museum and Art Gallery 2010: 1), which suggests that only bone powder was retained for further study. Bioarchaeologist Tom Booth, Natural History Museum, London, notes that it is possible to ‘rebury the bone after you’d taken the bone powder and extracted the DNA in the lab. DNA libraries and extracts can be reused, so... they can be stored for posterity’.¹⁹⁷ By only retaining the extracted DNA and returning the bone samples, the Northampton Jews were able to rebury almost all of the medieval remains, bar a very small percentage. Thus, suggesting that whilst the Jewish law to rebury was adhered to, there was also a degree of adaptation to the tradition that

¹⁹⁶ Marcus Roberts (2011), Email to Sophie Cabot, 28 June.

¹⁹⁷ Tom Booth (2018), Email to Toni Griffiths, 7 February.

stipulates 'separate parts of the body should be buried together' (Green and Green 2006: 260), in order to allow for further study on the DNA of the remains and therefore the gaining of important new information on medieval Anglo-Jewry. In this way, contemporary Jewish communities reinterpreted Jewish law relating to death, similarly to the medieval Jews of England as explored in Chapter Three. Indeed, compromising Jewish tradition in this demonstrates how the Jewish way of life is more about praxis than doxis, and in most cases, the former takes precedence over the latter. The centrality of this focus is made evident by Religious Studies Scholar Graham Harvey, who notes that:

Jews do not make a big issue out of "believing with perfect faith". They tend to disagree more about observance or practice than about beliefs. The varieties of Judaism are generally not the result of differences of belief but of observance (2013: 53).

Chapter Three discusses how medieval Jews may have adapted Jewish tradition to incorporate metal coffin fixings and a longer period between death and burial to ensure an appropriate burial at a Jewish cemetery. In much the same way, contemporary Jews in Northampton (and Norwich) allowing DNA sampling equates to a similar scenario, as the reburial of the Jewish remains is a *mitzvah*, or good deed, required in order to honour their memory; indeed, one 'of the most important commandments [is] to honour the dead' (Levine 1997: 128) and a good burial is a requirement of this. As with medieval communities, burial at a Jewish site was the priority, and as was demonstrated in Norwich, permitting the retention of DNA samples helped facilitate this process.

In the same year as the reburial of the human remains, Roberts and Sturdy Colls conducted a second archaeological investigation aiming to locate the site of the medieval Jewish synagogue. The only source that refers to the synagogue site is the will of William Raynsford of Northampton, a baker, who left to his daughter in 1630:

all that messuage or tenement wherein she now dwells, sometymes called the Synagogue of the Jews, with all and singular the houses, buildings, gardens, yarges, orchardes, and backside thereunto belonging, lyeing and being in the town of Northampton, in a certain streete there called Silverstrete (Cox, Serjeanston and Garratt 1897: 26).

Local historian Michael Jolles notes that in addition to this source, the synagogue 'has been thoroughly investigated by Marcus Roberts' (1996: 9). Jolles summarises Roberts' conclusions which suggest that the synagogue would have been 'on a site adjacent to the former Red Lion Inn, such that the synagogue would have been just north of the eastern side of the present-day Fish Market, where it fronts Sheep Street' (Jolles 1996: 9). However, the research by Roberts is not referenced nor peer reviewed, and there are no accessible publications on this site available in the public domain.

As with the 2009 investigation of the Northampton cemetery, the results of the 2010 archaeological study were substantial, but also problematic. The *Northampton Chronicle and Echo* provides a summary of the work, noting that:

A survey of land underneath Kebabish and The Bear public House, both in Sheep Street, Northampton, has found what experts estimate could be the remains of an ancient synagogue... The finds include brick walls and what appears to be a staircase [discovered] using a state-of-the-art ground-penetrating radar... Mr Roberts... warned he could not be certain what the finds were without excavating of the site. However, he said all historical records suggested Sheep Street was once home to a medieval synagogue... we thought we would find the synagogue there and what we have found is an extremely substantial medieval sunken building (Anon 2010c).

The newspaper article highlights that Roberts' and Sturdy Colls' work was significant in that it discovered the second medieval synagogue to have been identified in England. The first was found in Guildford in the 1990s, however, this has since been contested due to 'the arcading, which goes all round the walls and does not seem to create a special niche on the east for an ark', where the Torah scrolls would have been stored (Hinton 2003: 98); it should be noted, however, that some historians such as Hillaby and Hillaby, still maintain the argument in favour of the Guildford site as a medieval synagogue (2013: 156-7) although no other documents are accessible, or have been produced, regarding the investigation. Much like the work on the cemetery by Roberts and Sturdy Colls, there is no grey literature on the Guildford site and attempts to retrieve information through direct correspondence with the authors have not been successful.¹⁹⁸

In 2012, Roberts' and Sturdy Colls' work on the alleged site of the medieval Jewish synagogue was disputed by an archaeological watching brief. As part of the background research on the area that was being developed for a new bus station, Archaeologist Jonathan Hart utilised unpublished work relating to the synagogue investigation (Roberts 2012, Roberts and Sturdy Colls 2012) and highlighted that the proposed site of the bus station 'site includes the location of a former synagogue' (Hart 2012: 3). Further, Hart noted that Roberts' work referred to a building on a map of Northampton from 1632 (see Figure 20), and 'if correct [this] would be 'within the current [excavation] site' (Hart 2012: 4). Crucially, however, Hart concluded that '[d]espite the archaeological potential of the application area... the watching brief identified no significant archaeological remains' (2012: 5). Hart argued that discoveries made by Roberts and Sturdy Colls (Anon 2010c) may have been misinterpreted, noting

¹⁹⁸ Caroline Sturdy Colls (2016), Email to Toni Griffiths, 28 August.

that '[o]ne of the GPR anomalies [featured in the news report] appears to have been part of a soakaway, but there was no sign of the anomalies recorded' (Hart 2012: 5).

The archaeological watching brief by Hart is publicly accessible online (2012), unlike the work by Roberts and Sturdy Colls. However, it is the latter which has informed several public representations of Northampton's medieval Jewish history in the city. The Northampton Hebrew Congregation website discusses the presence of a medieval Jewish community and highlights that the 'remains of the synagogue have been discovered' (Northampton Hebrew Congregation 2014: [online]). Visitors to the online site are then advised they can read more by looking at the definitively titled article, 'Remains of Medieval Synagogue Uncovered under Northampton Kebab Shop' (Anon 2010c: [online]). Further, a commemorative plaque at the local bus station states that archaeological remains were discovered, but without reference to their contested nature; it reads:

This is the site of a Northampton medieval synagogue and Jewish Quarter in the 12th and 13th centuries. The Jewry was one of the largest in England and was home to noted Jewish scholars before the general expulsion of the Jews from England in 1290. The synagogue building survived as a fine hall and mayoral residence until The Great Fire of Northampton in 1675 and archaeological remains lay near by. 2014 (Thorpe 2014: [online]).

It is important to consider whether the use of more specific terminology would be beneficial for the plaque and local congregation website. For example, the term 'suspected' archaeological remains would acknowledge the uncertainty of the discovery, and in turn, would acknowledge the additional research carried out by the watching brief by Hart (2012). However, it is notable that it is hard to balance the two assertions regarding the presence, or not, of the remains of a medieval synagogue on the site as only Hart's argument is published and accessible, therefore making Roberts' and Sturdy Colls' conclusions ambiguous. Thus, it would be more accurate if the plaque simply had not included the last several words, 'and archaeological remains lay near by' (Thorpe 2014: [online]). In doing so, the purpose of the installation which was to commemorate the medieval Jewish community of Northampton in a public setting could have been achieved without any doubt relating to its content.

Aside from issues relating to the medieval synagogue, the Northampton bus station plaque is noteworthy as it is one of only a small number in England that commemorates the local medieval Jewish community as a whole; it does not focus exclusively on a narrow context such as cemeteries or

individual buildings. Similar plaques with a broad scope can be found in Norwich¹⁹⁹ and Oxford (Narin van Court 2008: 4-5). The plaque inscription also stands out for the considerable length of its inscription. Recommendation from English Heritage guidelines notes that 'the context of the plaque [should] be of relevance. If it is situated in a place where people have time to spare... then a lengthier inscription may be acceptable' (2010: 90). This suggests that creators of the medieval Jewish commemoration plaque perceived the bus station to be a location with a captive audience in the form of waiting passengers. Finally, the plaque also features as one of three commemorative installations at the Northampton bus station which incorporate the memory of medieval Jewish history into the wider historical narrative of the city.

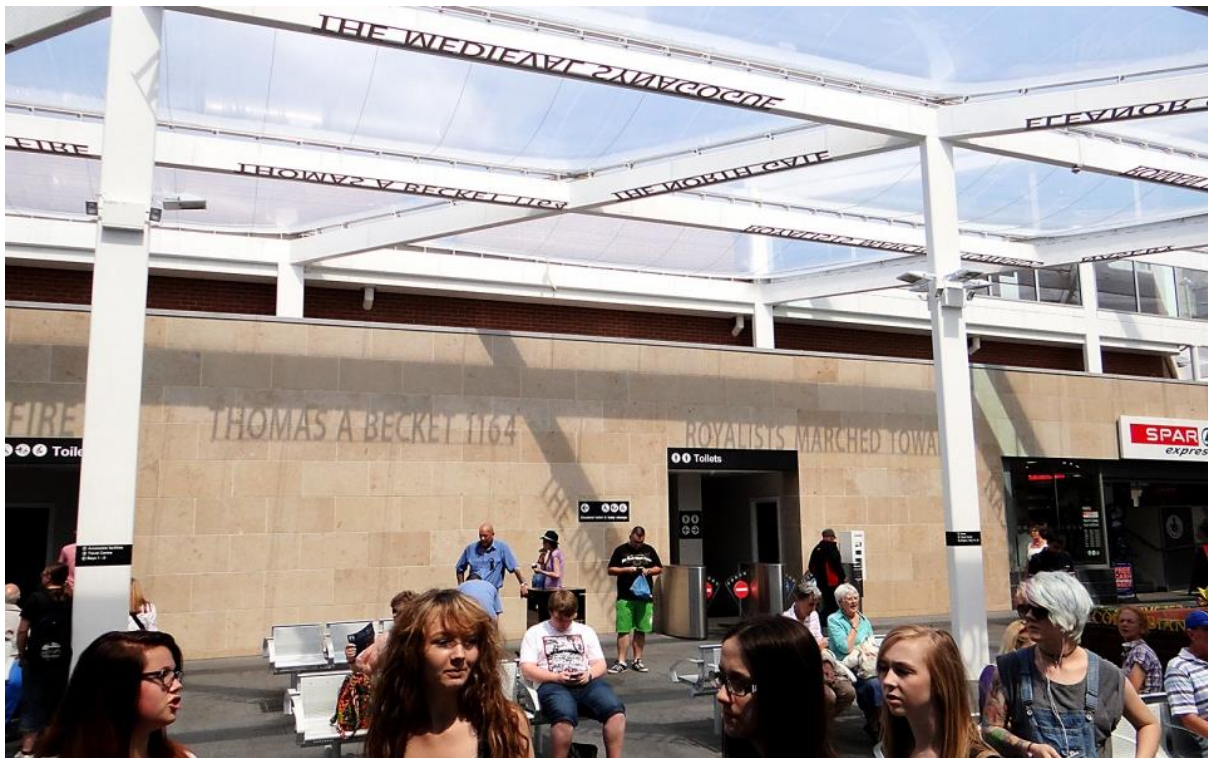
In addition to the plaque at the bus station, there is also an outline of three Jewish ritual oil lamps near the entrance of the station²⁰⁰ and the words 'The Medieval Synagogue' cut into an aluminium beam which hangs across the glass roof of the station (see Figure 21). The latter was created by artist Gudrun Haraldsdottir, and features as part of a wider display of '[w]ords and phrases which relate to parts of Northampton's history' (Anon 2014: [online]), designed so 'that the sun will project [the] shadows [of the words] onto the walls and floors' (Anon 2014: [online]). This trio of commemorative works recognises medieval Jewish history and memory as an integral part of the local history of the site and city. The impact of the work in this way is debatable however, in that the purpose of the bus station is utilitarian in its nature, although efforts to provide the station with an additional function, beyond its purpose as a transportation hub, are notable, as it gives the site some potential as a point of interest and, importantly to medieval Jewish heritage, something physical to view in the context of an otherwise materially absent history.

The significance of the outdated nature of the Northampton trail on the JTrails website can be found in that it is made more obvious by its high profile. The company was founded and is run by Roberts, discussed above, who is a local resident and member of the Jewish community of Northampton. In this way Roberts is intimately connected to the city and its Jewish history, and this is evident in the high number of features on Northampton on the JTrails website, including a walking tour, information about the tombstone on every page of the website, an article on the discovery of the synagogue, and a piece about the discovery and reburial of medieval Jewish human remains (Roberts, M. 2009a; Roberts n.d.a; Roberts 2010; Roberts 2011b). Northampton is also the focus for the trial version of the only fully digital, self-led, free-to-access walking trail focused on medieval Jewry (Roberts n.d. b).

¹⁹⁹ Ben Webster, Design, Conservation and Landscape Manager at Norwich City Council (2018), Email to Toni Griffiths, 20 February.

²⁰⁰ Marcus Roberts (2016), Interview with Toni Griffiths, 30 June.

Figure 21: Northampton bus station installation, (Harald 2014: [online]).



The Northampton trail and the others featured on the site are only possible if arranged directly with JTrails. As a result, access to medieval Jewish history in this way is restricted to only paying customers; booking onto a standard JTrails tour includes a local guide, recruited and trained by the company, and costs between £4-£8.50 per person with added extras available (Roberts n. d. c). Further, the website illustrates places of interest using numbers on an interactive map, yet there is no printable version of this map, thus participation in any self-led capacity would be limited to users with a digital device and access to the internet. Thus, it is evident that paid-for guided (rather than free self-guided) tours are the favoured option by the organisation. Restricting access to medieval Jewish narratives in this way is deeply problematic as it directly contrasts with JTrail's objectives which are to 'take the heritage and history to as many people as possible' and 'to create access to Jewish heritage open to all' (Roberts n. d. d: [online]).

JTrails is ambitious in its remit, which ranges from walking tours to heritage services, and from outreach programmes to archaeological surveys and assessments (Roberts n. d. e: [online]). JTrails' 'one stop shop' approach to Jewish heritage makes it unique and it is noteworthy in its attempts to bring together other partners, for example through its Jewish Tourism Centre, and Register of Jewish Heritage Guides. However, the broad scope of intention, particularly in the construction of walking tours, is often to the detriment of factual content.²⁰¹ In the context of Northampton this is evident in several inaccuracies. On the JTrails page of key dates relating to the Jewish history of the city, Roberts notes that:

1277 Good Friday - the community is falsely accused of the crucifixion and attempted murder of a Christian boy St Sepulchres' churchyard. Tradition alleges that in consequence, 50 Jews were executed horribly, being "drawn at horse's tails" and hanged in trees outside the gates of Northampton. (Roberts, M. 2009b).

However, the date is incorrect. As Hillaby and Hillaby note, it was in 1279 that, 'the Bury chronicler reported that a boy was crucified but 'not quite killed'' (Hillaby 1994: 94). Further, the version of events presented by JTrails is also inaccurate as it is merged with another event. Hillaby and Hillaby highlight that the dragging of Jews by horses and their subsequent death by hanging is confused 'possibly with the coin-clipping charges of the same year, for the chronicler of St Andrew's Priory, Northampton, which shows considerable interest in Jewish affairs, does not refer to the incident' (Hillaby and Hillaby 2013: 327).

²⁰¹ Many thanks to Dean Irwin for highlighting the Lincoln Trail (and other) inaccuracies: Dean Irwin (2018), Conversation with Toni Griffiths, 30 January; Dean Irwin (2018), Email to Toni Griffiths, 4 February.

Such inaccuracies have also informed and impacted upon local representations of medieval Jewish history and memory, as is evident in a newspaper article which refers to a public ceremony held in 1991. The event is described as ‘an act of repentance for the mass murders’ of the ‘50 Jewish men, tied... to the tails of cart horses and dragged over York Road until they died’, as a result of a ritual murder accusation in 1277 (Anon 2012: [online]). The ceremony consisted of ‘[p]riests and church goers [aligning] both sides of York Road and stood in silence to reflect on what had happened there so many years ago’ (Anon 2012: [online]). This highlights how publicly available information, regardless of its accuracy, is utilised by the general public and the press over and above academic sources of information.

Challenges created by Roberts’ research is also evident in *A Taste of Jewish Northampton, 1159-2013: celebrating 125 years of the Northampton Hebrew Congregation, 1888-2013* (Rainbow and Rainbow 2013). The book was published by the Northampton Hebrew Congregation to commemorate the Jewish community in the city and includes one chapter written by Roberts on thirteenth century Jewish recipes. In an interview about the book, Roberts asserts that there is ‘some detail about the kinds of food eaten by Jews in medieval Northampton... favourite dishes included fruit tarts... as well as pies (pastides), meat-cakes (rissoliez) and special cakes made for un-weaned children’ (Anon 2013b: [online]). However, no indication is given as to which sources provided this information. In this way, the book is similar to the one available for download on the JTrails website as it does not include any bibliographic references to corroborate the information provided, and this does not allow readers to follow up with further study. Interestingly although Roberts describes himself as a historian, lecturer, and author, there are no details available regarding academic credentials and none of his publications appear to be peer reviewed.

In conclusion, Bristol and Northampton have multiple active stakeholders with interests in safeguarding, researching, and representing medieval Jewish history and memory. Both locations are significant in the display of museum artefacts that provide a platform from which to discuss medieval Jewish history based on tangible evidence. However, Northampton stands out in its unique presentation and acknowledgement of medieval Jewish history and memory which can be seen in areas such as the commemorative installations in the bus station that incorporate this aspect of history into the wider narrative of the city.

Bristol and Northampton each have a contemporary Jewish community who have demonstrated a connection to the medieval past through the belief in consistent Jewish identity. In the case of

Northampton, the role of the Orthodox Jews also reflected the theme of this thesis, in that there are different Jewish approaches to death as determined by specific groups within certain historical settings through them allowing the retention of DNA samples after the reburial of the allegedly medieval Jewish human remains. In addition, this chapter has demonstrated the importance of the role of individuals as stake holders of medieval Jewish history. Further, the reburial of the alleged medieval Jewish human remains in Northampton can be considered exemplary in terms of collaborative effort as despite the time from discovery to reburial, the Jewish community, Orthodox and Haredi, worked in unity with the local authorities in a way that has not been seen elsewhere.

There have been significant outcomes as a result of the driving force of both Kavanagh's and Roberts' investment and commitment to the study and preservation of medieval Jewish history in a local context. However, this comes at a cost. Roberts has notably restricted access to archaeological investigations to do with medieval Northampton and as such controls a large aspect of how this knowledge is disseminated, and how the medieval Jewish community in Northampton is publicly represented and commemorated. In addition, some of his work provides inaccurate dates such as the *JTrails* walking tour for Lincoln and this impacts on the historical accuracy of walking tours offered by his company. Meanwhile, Kavanagh has encouraged engagement with the alleged *bet tohorah* in Bristol in terms of the site's preservation and investigation through attempted collaborations with academics and the Jewish community, both locally and nationally. Yet Kavanagh's actions are entangled with the promotion of historically engrained stereotypes regarding Jews and money through the motivation of the potential to discover hidden artefacts and to make profit from the bottled spring water venture at the site.

Overall there is the potential for further improvement in both Bristol and Northampton with regards to freely accessible walking tours that include both positive and negative aspects of medieval Jewish everyday life. Both locations also demonstrate the possibility of further research following the publication of work by Heritage England at the Scheduled Monument in Bristol and the new museum display in Northampton.

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis contributes to literature on medieval Anglo-Jewish history through the interrogation of five case studies deliberately chosen to represent a cross-section of medieval Jewish communities, both in terms of size and importance. Additionally, by focusing on these locations, which were (by order of assessment) Winchester, York, Norwich, Bristol, and Northampton, this thesis also identified the significance and central role of multiple stakeholders in the preservation and representation of local medieval Jewish history and memory. Key themes of authority and ownership were explored through a critical examination of the varied perspectives of the heritage industry, museums and archives, academia, and contemporary Jewish and non-Jewish communities. The use of decolonialist methodologies including Harvey's Guesthood approach (2003), which posits that research should be conducted with, rather than on or against its subjects, was integral to the investigation of the motivations and challenges of each key stakeholder. Further, this method enabled the consideration of contemporary Jewish communities as authoritative over their own history, which in turn provided fresh insight into the tensions between modern Jews, academia, and museums services over the retention and reburial of medieval human remains believed to be Jewish. The investigation of the role of modern Jews in this context contributes to wider contemporary discussions on the issue of minority communities who have called for the repatriation of what they believe to be ancestral human remains from museums and archive storage, for example, British Pagans (Blain and Wallis 2007).

A genetic link between contemporary and medieval Jews in England is unlikely but this thesis demonstrated that instead, the connection is born out of concepts of collective memory and of a Jewish identity across time and space. However, this study noted that the connection between modern and medieval Jews through a shared identity is not consistent across contemporary Jewish communities due to the varied interpretation of Jewish law and ritual practice; as was especially evident in the tensions between Haredi and Reform Jews regarding the reburial of medieval Jewish human remains excavated in Winchester (Chapter Four). This particular observation is especially interesting when considering the outcome of the study in Chapter Three, which clearly asserts that medieval Jews would not have had practices entirely consistent with any singular Jewish tradition today, yet the connection for Jews between present and past remains. This topic is crucial to understanding the Jewish approach and involvement in remembering medieval Anglo-Jews and this thesis has demonstrated that in any such assessment there is no homogenous Jewish response, rather it is variable and multifaceted.

Chapter Three of this thesis considered the differences between the medieval Anglo-Jewish community and contemporary traditional Jewish approaches within the context of death and burial practice. Death Studies and Religious Studies were combined with historical and archaeological assessments of medieval Jewish history in England, to produce new hypotheses concerning the adaptation of Jewish law and ritual that was required to conform to English law. Prior to 1177, Jewish burial grounds were restricted to one location in London but thereafter not all Jews would have had access to a cemetery in close proximity. Therefore, Jewish traditions such as to bury their dead within twenty-four hours would not have always been achievable. Thus, this chapter addressed, for the first time, the issue of how medieval Jews would have adapted their approach to death practice to account for the English legal restrictions they were forced to adhere to.

Archaeological reports from Jewish cemeteries excavated in Winchester and York formed a foundation from which to explore the complexities of travelling with a corpse. As part of this investigation, the significance of the discovery of metal coffin fixings at medieval Jewish cemeteries was brought into focus as possible evidence for keeping a casket firmly closed during the often arduous and lengthy journey to the nearest Jewish burial ground. The concept of travelling with the dead was a key theme in Chapter Three, which also incorporated forensic science into this multi- and inter-disciplinary contribution to the previously under researched aspect of medieval Jewish life via the consideration of medieval Jewish death.

The topic of medieval Jewish death was considered within a contemporary setting in Chapter Four through the assessment of the lack of memory of the medieval Jewish burial ground in Winchester. With the exception of the mention of the cemetery in the *Medieval Jewish Trail*, its existence has been virtually absent after human remains discovered at the site were claimed by a group of Haredi Jews and reburied in Manchester in 1996. However, this chapter also demonstrated how approaches towards medieval Jewish history and memory in Winchester are no longer defined by forgetting and have instead evolved towards approaches that actively seek to remember. This section of Chapter Four utilised the *Medieval Jewish Trail* (Welch 2015b) as a pivotal point in the process of remembering a previously forgotten aspect of the local past. The challenges and limitations of the trail were identified in terms of word count in the leaflet, and overcoming a lack of built heritage, as well as the issue of sensitive terminology with words such as usury considered as problematic by some members of the local Jewish community; financier being their preferred option and the second version of the leaflet will reflect this.

In addition, the successes of the *Medieval Jewish Trail* were illustrated in Chapter Four with a particular focus on the collaborative approach responsible for its design and implementation. The overall impact of the trail on how Winchester remembers its marginalised medieval Jewish community by making a previously hidden history public is highlighted as a significant development in the city. Other successes were identified through the front-page image of the trail leaflet which made the medieval Jewish token publicly accessible for the first time; currently stored in a local archive due to issues concerned with museum funding, as well as the artefact's size and condition, it is difficult to access by non-academics and heritage professionals. By addressing the successes and challenges of the recently developed self-guided tour, this chapter represents a potential for further research in terms of the application of the overall project design to other locations with a hidden Jewish heritage; both in terms of the leaflet and also the collaborative working. In addition, the potential for developing current interpretations at the sites in Winchester where Jewish history might be expected to be found but currently is not, such as the Great Hall and the Cathedral, was identified. The challenges of implementing such developments are also acknowledged through a focus on significant issues such as cost, thus alternative suggestions are made here as a potential model for the future. Such measures include offering additional information to interested individuals in the form of an academic lecture at Winchester Cathedral about the paintings of Jewish Patriarchs in the Holy Sepulchre Chapel and incorporating a text board on medieval Jewish history in Winchester into the City Museum.

Chapter Five analysed the case study of York where local medieval Jewish history was first acknowledged in the late 1970s. In contrast to Winchester, this chapter analysed the well-established approaches towards the public dissemination of medieval Jewish history, with a centralised focus on development and reinterpretation. This chapter considered the processes of transition in York from dealing with the Jewish past with a predominantly negative focus on victimisation and persecution with an emphasis on Dark Tourism and Horrible Histories, towards a more rounded approach including positive histories; this assessment was made through the assessment of walking tours and recent developments at Clifford's Tower. The representation of medieval Jewish history at Clifford's Tower was addressed in its role as a site of memory, evident in the commemoration of the martyrdom/massacre of York's Jewish community in 1190. The involvement of contemporary Jews in how the history and memory of the medieval Jewish community have been treated and represented in York was central to this assessment. The role of modern Jews was highlighted as being driven by their perceived connection with their medieval forebears and is demonstrated through the active participation in the reburial of discovered human remains at the site of medieval Jewish cemetery, and in their contribution to the redesign process of interpretations at Clifford's Tower. Further, the

connection between contemporary and medieval Jews brought into focus the issue of terminology within the context of representing and commemorating the Jewish past. Building on issues regarding terminology introduced in Chapter Four, this chapter noted the importance of using sensitive and respectful language in interpretations of the events in York in 1190, with a specific focus on the terms 'martyrdom', 'massacre', and 'suicide' within a Jewish context. The discussion on the terminology used at Clifford's Tower also involved input from English Heritage, the custodians of Clifford's Tower, and as such, there is the potential for further research on this topic based on the possible responses to the new interpretations presented at the site.

An examination of the public representation of medieval Jewish history in Norwich in Chapter Six revealed that approaches in the city have been constructed with a predominant focus on negative history. This chapter demonstrated that the reputation of Norwich as the location of the first ritual murder accusation in England brought against a Jewish community in 1144 following the death of William of Norwich, has been foundational in shaping how the history of medieval Jews is publicly disseminated; for example, at Norwich Cathedral and through interpretation boards at Mousehold Heath. In contrast to Chapter Five, the focus on negative Jewish history was demonstrated as ongoing in Norwich, identifiable in the development of the forthcoming walking tour focussed exclusively on William of Norwich and the ritual murder allegation. Chapter Six illustrated that further work is required in Norwich in order to incorporate an approach to medieval Jewish history that concentrates on a rounded perspective. As such this thesis has the potential to provide vital insights to projects focussed on the public representation of medieval Jewish history through its assessments of other projects that have achieved this, for example, Winchester's *Medieval Jewish Trail* (Chapter Four).

The overarching sensitivities relating to the events of 1144 that have defined Norwich's approach towards remembering its medieval Jewish past, are also highlighted as having played a crucial role in determining the responses and actions of contemporary Jewish communities and museum officials concerning the treatment and commemoration of the allegedly medieval Jewish human remains found in a well in the city in 2004. The critical examination of the human remains debate was conducted through sources acquired from a Freedom of Information request, which enabled a previously unseen depth of analysis of the fluctuation and dynamics of power during the negotiations over ownership and requests for repatriation made by the local Jewish community to the Norfolk Museums Services.

The final chapter of this thesis, Chapter Seven, explored Northampton as another example of how contemporary Anglo-Jews have asserted authority and ownership over the rediscovered alleged medieval Jewish human remains in order to rebury them as quickly as possible, in accordance with

Jewish law. However, in contrast to the other chapters which considered the involvement of contemporary Jewish communities, the case study of Northampton focused on the impact of one individual, Marcus Roberts, as a driving factor in the study and commemoration of medieval Jews in the city. In the same way, the section on Bristol in this chapter considered the significance of another single individual, Steven Kavanagh, as a spearhead in the preservation and promotion of the *mayan*, the medieval Jewish scheduled monument site at Jacobs Well Road. Both cases highlighted the key motivations of each individual, which revealed significant driving factors such as financial gain in the public representation of medieval Jewish history in Northampton and Bristol.

This chapter also explored the display of medieval Jewish artefacts in museums at each location; a unique aspect within these case studies due to the limited nature of archaeological artefacts relating to this aspect of history. The tombstone on display at the City Museum in Northampton was significant as it proved there was a medieval Jewish cemetery in the city, which in turn prompted further research by a local historian into its location. Further, the tombstone represents the potential for additional research as the museum in Northampton is currently undergoing a redesign, which will result in a new display and interpretation of the artefact. Bristol's M Shed has on display an artefact that it claims is a medieval ritual lamp, however, this chapter highlighted that the museum's description of the artefact as relating to the Jewish community is contested by Historian Joe Hillaby. Despite its contested identity, the lamp is utilised in the M Shed as a vehicle to represent medieval Jewish history within the wider context of history and religion in Bristol. The approach identified at M Shed towards displaying the lamp in this way notably contrasts with Winchester where a firmly identified Jewish medieval artefact in the form of a token with a Hebrew inscription, remains in storage (Chapter Four). Thus, there is the potential for the case studies of Bristol and Northampton to inform possible future projects in Winchester concerning the public display of artefacts relating to Anglo-Jewish history.

Overall, the case studies in this thesis illustrated that the rounded representation of medieval Jewish history, inclusive of both negative and positive histories, is taking (or beginning to take) place in England despite the challenges and limitations posed by the lack of built heritage and limited firmly identified archaeological discoveries. Further, the interrogation of different approaches and methods of disseminating local medieval Jewish history through walking tours, museums, and sites of memory, has the potential to provide a valuable tool in developing future projects focused on remembering this aspect of history. The focus of this thesis on the central role of multiple stakeholders, their viewpoints, sensitivities, motivations, and claims to ownership and authority has highlighted that the most successful approach to publicly representing medieval Jewish history is through a collaborative approach. The integration of a variety of stakeholders incorporates the professional and in-depth

research approach taken by academics, with the expertise that staff working in museums, heritage organisations and councils have in the public communication and accessible dissemination of large amounts of information. Further, the inclusion of contemporary Jewish communities is essential, in that they are typically concerned with sensitive and inclusive approaches towards interpreting a history with which they remain connected to through a sense of identity across time and space. However, the case studies in this thesis have also demonstrated that it is crucial to acknowledge that there are multiple Jewish approaches towards the preservation of medieval Jewish history and memory notably in regard to human remains. Thus, it is essential to consider the differences in Jewish traditions for projects involving this aspect of history, especially when issues concerning human remains are involved. Further, the adaptability of medieval Jews towards death in Chapter Three demonstrated that there is not, nor ever had been a singular approach to Judaism in England, thus within the context of ownership and authority, each Jewish voice is validated. By taking such an inclusive stance, this thesis has uncovered previously marginalised stories of Jewish involvement in how medieval Jewish history and memory has been treated and represented in England.

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GLOSSARY

Archae: an 'official chest, provided with three locks and seals, in which a counterpart of all deeds and contracts involving Jews was to be deposited in order to preserve the records' (Jewish Genealogical Society 2017).

Ashkenazic: Jews of Central or Eastern European descent

Beth Din: a Jewish court of law.

Bet Tohorah: a ritual bath for washing the deceased.

Kehillah: a group within the Jewish community who were 'endowed with a broad range of powers... to govern all facets of communal life autonomously under Jewish law' (Lupovitch 2007: 136).

Mayan: a natural spring.

Mikveh: a bath used by Jews for the purpose of ritual immersion.

Mikve'ot: Plural of *Mikveh*.

Sephardic: Jews of Portuguese and Spanish descent